

# Maclean's

THE GRADUATES: OUT OF WORK



THE  
MARTENSVILLE  
SCANDAL

# EVERY PARENT'S NIGHTMARE

HOW TO GUARD AGAINST  
CHILD ABUSE







Why *the experts* prefer their tea *made*  
with water *filtered* by Brita.



Experts from just about anywhere know the Brita® Water Filter System makes your water better. • The patented Brita filter reduces chlorine and odors. And, eliminates 99% of lead and copper that may be in your tap water. It also softens your water without adding salt. • Giving you cleaner, tastier and healthier water perfect for drinking, cooking and tea time. • Just look at the tea above. The left one is made from tap water. The right one from tap water filtered by Brita. It's clear, with no unpleasant surface film. Plus it doesn't leave scale in your kettle. • And you can have this water for about 5¢ a litre when you replace the filter about once a month. • That's why experts on tea agree, nothing can replace a Brita Water Filter System.

**BRITA**  
Make your water better.™



©1994 The Brita Corporation Inc. - registered name

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 22 1992 VOL. 133 NO. 25

## CONTENTS

### 4 EDITORIAL

### 6 LETTERS

### 12 OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

Jack Palance orders room for breakfast; the freak show makes a comeback; time and technology take over the sport of war; a victory breeds the rule book; turmoil in Ottawa's constitutional offices claims another victim; the G7 goes off—no jobs—in P.R.; recalling Richard Nixon's review from his 18th birthday; Patrick Gimes plays to win.

### 15 COLUMN/DIANE FRANCIS

### 16 CANADA

A new proposal on Senate reform raises hopes that a constitutional deal is in sight; Merv Grey, the great survivor, is the nation's longest-serving MP.

### 24 COVER

### 31 PEOPLE

### 32 WORLD

Ross Perot's campaign gains strength; Thatcherland, a novel that imagines that Hitler was the war, sends shudders through a Europe where fears of German hegemony linger.

### 36 BUSINESS

The CPSC opens the doors to long-distance telephone competition; after two years of soul-searching and setbacks, mercantile financier Christopher O'Shaughnessy has resumed his financial career.

### 39 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

### 40 SPECIAL REPORT

### 51 ENVIRONMENT

The Earth Summit may mark a new beginning for the concept of sustainable development; Maclean's accomplices Canada's Maxtor Strong, the summit's co-ordinator, through a hectic working day.

### 54 FILMS

### 56 GUEST COLUMN/STEWART MacLEOD

## COVER

### EVERY PARENT'S NIGHTMARE

When can parents trust their children? That issue gained urgency last week as a sexual-abuse scandal in Martensville, Sask., gave a fresh jolt to nerves already jaded by a string of similar cases. Like Stephen Desrosiers, many parents are wary to be more vigilant, and there is growing support for tougher penalties and tighter supervision of convicted molesters. — 24

## SPECIAL REPORT

### OUT OF SCHOOL, OUT OF WORK

Conventional wisdom is that a university degree has the power to catapult a student into a good job. But with the economy in recession, graduates are having to compete with thousands of laid-off workers, and the evidence indicates that the route to the fast track is getting longer—and rougher. — 40



## ENTERTAINMENT

### BATMAN'S RETURN

A fresh frenzy of merchandising is under way as the Dark Knight once more ascends from North American movie screens in *Batman Returns*. The sequel, featuring a macabre Michael Pfeiffer as Catwoman, is lighter in tone than the original. But it still seems set to become this summer's hottest movie. — 54



COVER: PHOT OF BY ANDREW SUTHERLAND

COVER: PHOT OF BY ANDREW SUTHERLAND; DESIGN: JEFFREY J. BROWN; PHOTOGRAPHY: JEFFREY J. BROWN; PHOTOGRAPHY: JEFFREY J. BROWN; PHOTOGRAPHY: JEFFREY J. BROWN



# A Sorry Affair

The latest round of constitutional talks has trailed off to an inconclusive close in Ottawa. It was not a summit too soon. A first ministers' meeting originally scheduled for later this month will, it can only be hoped, meet a similar fate. It is now clear that all of the noble attempts to reach a sweeping Canadian consensus on a renewed form of federation that would have

included Quebec's approval for a revised constitution could not succeed. The narrow demands of special-interest groups were simply responsible for derailing the process. In the end, it was impossible to devise a method of meeting the demands of those who wanted a Triple E Senate, women's groups who wanted guaranteed representation in the upper house or native groups who sought unrestricted rights to self-government. There were dozens of other special interests, as well, seeking recognition and rights. Finally, it is clear that the effort to deal with all of the conflicting demands was moving in a direction that would only create a chaotic system where the central government would be marginalized and power dispersed to other centers, without pattern, reason or coherence. Now is the time for Parliament, representing all Canadians, to take the whole sorry affair under control.

Canadians from all walks of life have had many opportunities to air their views in public forums and elsewhere over the past year and a half. MPs have had many chances to listen. That process was essential. But it long ago ran its course. Now, it is time for lawmakers to draft proposals that could command the support of at least seven provinces with 50 per cent of the population. These agreements would effectively amend the Constitution. Before the Senate, unfortunately, might have to be delayed. Taken together, they might then form a package that Quebec could hold its promised referendum on, and have a good chance of being accepted—ending a constitutional impasse that has long-suffered its time.



Parliament: the narrow demands of special-interest groups helped to derail the process

*Kevin O'Leary*

## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY MAGAZINE

### Editor-in-Chief

Managing Editor: David Lewis

Executive Editors: Carl Holm, Alan Miller

Assistant Managing Editors: Michael Macleod,

David Macleod

Art Director: Nick Bunnell

Senior Contributing Editor: Peter C. Newman

Section Editors: Ron Allen (Environment),

Chris Lord (Business), Mark McLean (Commentary)

News Editors: Christopher

Editorial Coordinator: Victoria Hanning

Editorial Administration: Lynn Macgregor

Business Editors: Thomas Chisholm, Ray Campbell

Tom Macleod, Betsy Jones, Sharon Johnson,

Robert Gault, James Macleod

Associate Editors: Peter Bergman, Victoria Smith

Book Editor: John Gault, James Gault, Peter Gault,

Ray Gault, Diane Tuck, Tom Macleod, Richard Macleod

Assistant Editor: David Smith

Bureau: David Anthony (Mississauga),

Ken Allen (Ottawa), Henry Allen,

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

John Allen (Ottawa),

Production Supervisor: Robert Wilson

Executive Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

Assistant to the Editor: David Macleod

**DRAKKAR  
NOIR**

EAU DE TOILETTE  
**Guy Laroche**  
Paris

## Our national dilemma

It is not too difficult to understand why the people of this country are upset ("Mad as heck," *Cover*, June 8). While living in what is called a democracy, we actually reside in a semi-democratically elected dictatorship that has effectively hog-tied the Canadian voter. We have been effectively and purposefully kept unable of influencing our governments at all levels. Although by the magic of election, former car salesmen, teachers, union negotiators and forklift operators are elevated to that hallowed level reserved for the elite, they avoid and duck out of sight and out of reach of the citizenry. The cure to this, our national dilemma, is as simple as the cure. Canadians are not being allowed to run the country.

Bob Meik  
New Westminster, B.C.

I am mad as heck about "Mad as heck." It recapitulates a lot of what can be ascribed in this country—namely, the way journalists present the news. Articles like these simply fix the blame of discontent. While spending long pages complaining about our terrible situation in Canada, you offered no information about what is being done to improve it. For example, while complaining about taxes, you failed to mention that our federal taxes stayed roughly even in 1991 and went down this year, and that the federal deficit is being reduced. Also, many municipalities have brought in budgets with zero tax increases. How about getting as much effort into reporting why the United Nations rated us as having the No. 1 quality of life in the world instead of rebuking that our "taxes are evil" and our "politics are evil"?

Alfred Bruce Lewis  
West Canada, Ont.

I, for one, am not "Mad as heck"—I am furious. The government of Canada does not serve the people but, like all governments, serves the status quo to preserve the jobs and attendant perks enjoyed by those who work within it. In the 20 years that I have been entitled to vote, not once has my opinion been asked for in a referendum or plebiscite on the major issues of the day. In the flag debate, racist pseudoscience, abortion, free trade, the Gulf or Quebec sovereignty. The problem is primarily one of the quality of our politicians. Power corrupts. Incompetent, self-serving incompetents like Brian Mulroney, his cabinet and the opposition neither understand nor care about the needs and wishes of their constituents. Big business, labor and our religious leaders also share in the responsibility for our present state. And finally, the people of Canada



"Mad as heck": Canadian discontent

must take some of the responsibility. Our complacency has allowed those who look as if to continue to shackle us. (Silk?) You bet. Can we do something about it? You bet. Will we? Who knows?

Courtney Smith  
Pawsonville

Canadians have good reason to be mad as heck. We are asked to pay more in taxes, yet have little indication that the money is being spent on improving social services. In fact, according to finance department figures, the federal government has been spending less on programs as a percentage of gross domestic product than at any period during the 1970s, when deficits were much lower than they are now. It is time that Canadians started getting some straight answers to a very obvious question: where the heck is all the money going?

Louise Munro,  
Gloucester, Ont.

## A 'degenerate parody'

Having read Charles Gaudin's June 8 column, "Who cares what the consumer thinks?" I do not know whether to laugh at or pity him for his dismissal of the real importance of the consumer in Canadian society. It seems that he is content to play the role of sycophant to the governing clique that impregnates the Establishment of southern Ontario (and little else). No matter, he and his ilk have long forfeited their credibility by a slavish devotion to an autocrat and thoroughly discredited polit-

ical structure. In fact, most ordinary Canadians, having lived too long with the antics of Ottawa's political parasites, are disgusted by sycocracy and its flanking media, are no longer unopposed by those who wrap themselves in the flag and rail at all things American. Let us recognize this degenerate parody of the British parliamentary system for what it is: a mutation that owes its continued existence to neither the government nor to a sovereign, but that clings ingenuously solely on its own authority. Over-taxed and over-exploited Canadian consumers deserve better than to be fooled by servile, money-lover media hacks like Gaudin. After all, who cares what he thinks.

Allan Finch,  
Springer, Man.

## Concern, not cash

I am compelled to respond to "Years of shame," your June 1 *Opening Note* about historical discrimination against Chinese-Canadians. When are we going to stop paying for the mistakes of our greedy and ignorant forebears? I am not trying to minimize the fact that Chinese-Canadians were treated most unfairly in the 1930s, but this generation does not have the money to pay for these mistakes. What we do have is the ability for the present-day government to acknowledge and publicly apologize for the acts of discrimination. We also have the ability to educate both children and adults about the damage caused by racism. We must get to know our neighbors and co-workers who are of different skin color, ethnic origin, religion, gender and age. This will heal old wounds—not the act of putting cash in pockets.

Karen Martin,  
Pawsonville

## Vital organ

We were pleased to see Maclean's pick up the second *Mail* Times survey of sexual and best-dressed men for the May 11 *Opening Note*. "And the winners are . . ." Must surely who our survey describes us as an Ottawa political personality or, as we call ourselves, "Ottawa's parliamentary newspaper." But we have never in our three-year history seen our newspaper referred to as a "House organ," which would mean, I suppose, an organ owned and controlled by the House of Commons. The *Mail* Times is an independent newspaper. Our full-time beat is the House, but we are no more an organ for the House than *The Globe* and *Mail* Report on Business is an organ for the Toronto business community.

Jim Cronley,  
Editor, The *Mail* Times,  
Ottawa

Letter may be reprinted. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. When letters are in the editor's mailbox, please include return address. *OTT* Box 9, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7. Or by fax: (416) 596-7330.

## SHORTEN THE LONG HAUL.



CATHAY 不  
PACIFIC 停  
NONSTOP 站

Only Cathay Pacific has an all

Rolls Royce powered wide-bodied

fleet, including five 747-400

Which is why we fly more non-

stops to and from our home in Hong

Kong, the heart of Asia. And with

cabin attendants from 10 Asian lands,

we stop at nothing to help you arrive in

better shape



**CATHAY PACIFIC**  
Arrive in better shape

Hot off the same drawing board that brought you the spirited Miata, Mazda introduces the exciting, new MX-3 Precidia. **LOOKS GOOD ON YOU.** With its fresh, sleek, youthful look you're guaranteed to turn heads everywhere you go. Inside you'll love the rounded, sporty dash. There's even a rear seat, so you can bring along your friends. And there's the kind of carrying convenience that only a hatchback

**THE NEW MAZDA  
MX-3 PRECIDIA**

**Features**

Only optional V6 in its class  
Seating for four  
4-year/80,000 km "bumper-to-bumper" no-deductible warranty  
5-year/100,000 km major components warranty  
Mazda Added Protection plans now available  
See Dealer for details

can provide. Plus, now you don't have to be a model to look good on the runway. With the only optional V6 engine in its class, the MX-3 Precidia

is a real jet. Packed with power, it's nimble and quick. It responds to the touch. You'll marvel at the way it handles. No matter what the setting, with the new 1992 Mazda MX-3 Precidia, you'll always look good.

**AAC**  
MX-3 Precidia  
"Best New Sporty Car of 1992"  
ALANCOPIED JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA



**mazda**  
IT JUST FEELS RIGHT











Bourassa (left) meeting with Charest last week: the Quebec premier must deal with warring factions in his own caucus

## A SUMMER AGENDA

In the often-averse world of constitutional negotiations, many of the most important agreements emerge outside of the meeting rooms. That was the case last week, as Ottawa and the provinces began informal discussions of a new proposal only hours after their formal meetings came to an end on Thursday in an unceremonious collapse. The process, a last-minute pitch by Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow on how to reform the Senate, an issue that had previously brought the talks to a halt. Because of Romanow's proposal, which would give all provinces the same number of seats but weight their votes in accordance with their population, federal officials walked through last weekend to prepare to present to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on his return from the anniversary of summer in Rio de Janeiro (page 21). With guarded optimism, officials told Andrew Young, Ottawa's chief negotiator, that the deal, despite repeated delays, will satisfy all of the provinces—including Quebec's Robert Bourassa. Said Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark:

### A NEW SENSE OF OPTIMISM GRIPS THE UNITY TALKS, BUT QUEBEC IS STILL COY ABOUT ITS BOTTOM LINE

"These really has been a new tone to the debate."

Words to that effect have been heard before, as negotiations dragged on without any settlement in sight. But last week that tone appeared to find an echo among Quebec's government leaders, not always receptive to overtures from the rest of Canada. Said one senior adviser to Bourassa in an interview with

Maclean's: "We are confident that Ottawa is fully aware of our needs." And although they are buoyed by the current round of discussions after the failure of the Meech Lake accord two years ago, senior Quebec Liberals followed the talks with heightened interest and concern. In Quebec City, a conspiracy line government Affairs Minister Joe Windred insisted that Quebec must still get a veto on constitutional reforms, but he left the door open on the question of the week—Senate reform. Windred said that Quebec remained opposed to a Senate with equal representation from every province. But he added: "On the other hand, if there are forms that allow us to believe that equality does not mean uniformity, we will see."

Still, Quebec leaders were clearly growing ever more conscious of their own last-up-approaching Oct. 26 deadline for a provincial referendum. Said Bourassa's adviser: "There is still time for a deal—but not much time is now people seem to think." Throughout the negotiations, politicians from the rest of Cana-

da have kept the lines of communication with Quebec open. Last week, Mulroney met in Montreal on Monday with Clark, as well as Alberta deputy premier James Horner and Nova Scotia Liberal Leader Vincent MacLean. Bourassa himself met with Mulroney on Tuesday. But in the absence of a federal constitutional offer to Quebec, some provincial Liberals reacted with anger over the possibility that English Canada might snuff the province's demands—chief among them, a veto over future constitutional changes. Said Jean Allaire, the Liberal lawyer who presided over the conference that drafted the party's formal constitutional platform called for in a full-scale resolution of federal-province talks: "We have again to conclude that since 1987, not a single constitutional change asked for by Quebec has been granted."

Such sentiments are also fueling tensions between federalist and sovereigntist Liberals in Bourassa's caucus. In comments published earlier this month in *Le Journal de Montréal*, Liberal MLA Jean-Yves Lévesque said that Ottawa's proposals as far as guaranteed "democratic federalism." In addition, the newspaper quoted Lévesque as saying, "The keys to the door of English Canada would be enough. A little blood will have to start spilling before they realize Quebec is serious." Lévesque said later that his remarks should be interpreted "figuratively." But fellow Liberal Miquel Doyon took Lévesque to task, saying that the subject was inflammatory in the extreme. Said Doyon: "I disprove his statement. He has gone too far."



After these months of grating and grinding only little, federal and provincial officials remained deadlocked over the split issue of Senate reform and a constitutional veto for Quebec. Federalists blame the province for its intransigence in refusing to negotiate over the next few weeks. In the deadlock remains, Ottawa is prepared to accept a national veto package in the form of a resolution to Parliament—or in a national referendum. In other developments:

• Federal Intelligence Minister John Grace said that he will take the federal government to the Senate and tell them that the federal government is not willing to give up its veto on the Constitution and will not give up its veto on the Constitution.

• Senator Michael Pritchard, chair of the Joint Council under Prime Minister Mulroney, said that he will take the federal government to the Senate and tell them that the federal government is not willing to give up its veto on the Constitution and will not give up its veto on the Constitution.

**QUOTE OF THE WEEK**  
"To have with Quebec—say we wouldn't get a package and the country is in deep trouble in other areas."

—Alberta party leader Preston Manning, saying the party leaders to support federal unity bills for a longer period of time.

Doyon added that the party does not need a "British wing" for a long time.

The exchange served as a reminder that in many of a third of Bourassa's caucus members had no conversation to some degree. Party leaders say that among them are about five who might defect from the party if constitutional talks do not involve in Quebec's interests. Although that prospect is not deeply worrying to party leaders—the Liberals hold 66 of the 125 seats in the Quebec National Assembly—a greater danger to party solidarity might be a possible rejection by the Liberal's powerful youth wing, which backs the Alliance program. That youth wing's concerns that such a possible Liberal defection in Alliance itself and the party's direction, Pierre Arcus, could also leave the Liberals.

But in spite of party splitting and the prospect of a schism, Quebec leaders continued to direct meeting with the rest of Canada. For one thing, political leaders outside Quebec had expressed concern that the province might talk at the native self-government package agreed to during the constitutional negotiations. But Quebec's Native Affairs Minister Christian Séguin said that the elements of that package would not change the province's support of a constitutional deal. And for his part, Bourassa last week said that participation in the constitutional deal was "totally precluded."

Meanwhile, in spite of the Quebec referendum deadline, Bourassa may have a stake in keeping the constitutional group—at least for the moment. Looking on the horizon in St. Jean Baptiste Day on June 24, when Quebec's soldiers traditionally take to the streets. Any constitutional deal is likely to come under fire from separatists, and Bourassa may be hoping that the absence of a settlement—and a last-minute debate the deconstruction. Noted Liberal University political analyst, Guy Lafont: "The aim now is not to settle the crisis, but to get to the other side of St. Jean Baptiste Day. My thoughts don't like to see people in the streets. It's about that it will be met by the referendum."

But other experts caution that Bourassa cannot afford to postpone taking steps definitively. Observed University of Ottawa political scientist John Trott, who specializes in Quebec politics: "Bourassa must decide what he wants to do. He must decide if he wants to give up his veto on the Constitution and will not give up his veto on the Constitution."

Still, in spite of the optimism expressed last week by federal and provincial officials, the talks will likely continue to drag on. One federal adviser acknowledged as much by saying that the latest Senate proposal is an important symbolic—if not substantive—development. Said the adviser: "It was an important gesture that keeps the momentum up and shows coming to the table." In the elusive search for an agreement, there might be—and certainly will be—the last that anyone reasonable to offer.

GLEN ALLEN with ANTHONY BRADON SMITH and E. KATE FOSTER in Ottawa

## National Notes

### A DEBATE OVER FISH

Canada's fisheries officials claimed victory after the International Court of Arbitration granted Canada control over the majority of disputed waters between the southern coast of Newfoundland and the tiny French islands of St. Pierre-Miquelon. But the ruling also gave France exclusive jurisdiction over 4,575 square miles of water that Canada had previously claimed as its own.

### A NEW LAROI Czar

Centennial labor leader Robert White, 37, was elected president of the Canadian Labor Congress. In his victory speech, White, a longtime president of the Canadian Auto Workers and a vice-president of the federal NDP, vowed that the CLC, which has 2.2 million members, will wage an all-out campaign against the federal Progressive Conservative government and the National Youth of Canada in the next federal election.

### REFORMING RACE RELATIONS

Stephen Lewis, who was appointed as Ontario Premier Bill Rae's special adviser on race relations following a riot in Toronto on May 4, released a report urging Rae to act quickly on several fronts. Lewis, a former leader of the Ontario new, said that the provincial government should introduce employment equity legislation aimed at visible minorities, increase the number of women in cabinet to reflect the multicultural makeup of the province and establish a new cabinet committee on race relations.

### AN ILLA'S ORDEAL

Manitoba Conservative MLA Marcel Lacroix was hospitalized and held in the trunk of his car after leaving the provincial legislature late at night. Lacroix, who used a cellular phone to call police from inside the trunk, was released 45 minutes later, after his relatives were alerted. The police, who are attempting to search for suspects, say there is no clear motive behind the abduction.

### CALLING FOR A SECOND LOOK

The House of Commons passed a constitutional amendment to amend the constitution. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall requested that David Peterson and eight other Canadians, including Lacroix and David Peterson, who are serving 30-year sentences for the 1989 kidnapping of a Quebec businessman. Lacroix and Peterson say that they are innocent, but McDougall has declined to make the request based on her belief that the Canadians had received a fair trial.



Gray: "I look on it as maybe a halfway point in the things I want to do."

## An MP for all seasons

Herb Gray marks 30 years of integrity

He is one of Canada's ultimate political survivors, a man who has defied loyalty and even criticism to three Liberal prime ministers and countless critics to three Conservative governments. When Herb Gray first won election in his home town of Windsor, Ont., on June 18, 1962, John Diefenbaker was prime minister, Lester Pearson was leader of the Liberal party—and Bruce Maloney was a law student at Laval University in Quebec City. In the 30 years since then, Gray, who is the longest-serving federal MP, has been one of the most familiar and consistent figures in the House of Commons. To opponents, observers, even some allies, he is known as "Gray Herk," a blunt public figure whose flat monotone, gendered speech mannerisms and incessantly plinking forefinger can bring the most passionate debate to a momentary close. To longtime associates, including Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien, he is a valued friend and steady influence whose public image masks his private warmth and dry humor. Said Chrétien last week: "I simply cannot imagine functioning without Herb. We count on him so much for so many things."

In fact, Gray can likely continue to do a job that he carries out with unscathed skill for some time in the future. At 61, he has little interest in looking back, and most enthusiasm for discussing his campaign plans for the next election—his 11th. As he discussed his 30 years in federal politics during a recent interview with *Maclean's*, a smiling Gray declared: "It's not a bad beginning. But I look on it as a

halfway point in the things I want to do."

That tendency to look ahead, associates say, is a rare and endearing quality for a politician who has already held a variety of cabinet positions, and who served as the party's interim official opposition leader before Chrétien's election in 1990. Added former prime minister and Liberal leader John Turner, who was first elected alongside Gray in 1962, but returned to private life between 1978 and 1984: "Herb's greatest accomplishment is a quality not attached to his résumé: the stature in which he is held by members of all political parties."

Many of Gray's political values are rooted in the prevailing mood of the country when he was first elected. A staunch economic nationalist who later denounces the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Gray came of age at a time when many Canadians were deeply preoccupied with the overwhelming U.S. influence in Canada and wanted to assert Canada's nationhood. In 1973, as minister of national revenue, he produced a landmark report on foreign ownership that led to the creation of the Foreign Investment Review Agency, which placed tighter controls on foreign ownership. The Tories have since revoked many of those restrictions—much to Gray's dismay. Said the MP: "The more that other people owe our country, the more they can tell us what to do."

Gray has remained consistent in that view—even when it has damaged his career. In 1974, then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau inexplicably dropped him from cabinet after he had

at revenue and consumer and corporate affairs portfolios. Some Liberals and privately that Trudeau acted under pressure from the business community to be more responsive to its needs. Following his dismissal, Gray remained in the party, but became an ultra-aggressive critic of some government policies. In 1980, when the Liberals returned to power after the fall of Joe Clark's short-lived Conservative government, Trudeau reinstated him to cabinet as industry minister.

But even Gray's admirers sometimes roll their eyes when they discuss his unapologetic speaking habits in the House of Commons. In an otherwise complimentary editorial in December, 1996, *The Ottawa Citizen* called him "brutally boring." And a senior Liberal during Turner's leadership years wrote that Gray was a good party spokesman for controversial issues—defending Liberals because he was "boring on his side." But Gray displays a dry, self-deprecating sense of humor to private, and delights in his collection of more than 50 editorial cartoons—many often read him straddled stage. Said Senator Joyce Fairbairn, who first met him when she was a reporter on Parliament Hill in the early 1960s: "There is a certain slyness to Herb even now—but anyone who takes the trouble to get past that discovers the wonderful sense of humor underneath."

Gray also takes fierce pride in reflecting many of the blue-collar interests of his Windsor constituency. In his spare time, he reads the crime novels of author Elmore Leonard. He is also a devoted fan of such hard-luck rock singers as Bruce Springsteen and Bob Seger. He and his wife, Sharon, a lawyer, have been married since 1967 and have two children: son Jonathan, 20, a science student at the University of Toronto, and daughter Elizabeth, 17, who attends high school in Ottawa, where the family lives for most of the year. In spite of his fondness for rock music, Gray says, his children have different tastes. Noting that they listen to newer trends "like house music and hip-hop," Gray added: "I'm familiar with that music, but it's not really my style."

The real Gray, say fellow Liberals, is determinedly without pretensions. His almost nightly jaunts during hot months to a Dairy Queen restaurant near Parliament Hill have become famous among his casual colleagues. Said Kingston, Ont. Liberal MP Peter Miliken: "He hangs around while he eats his ice cream and is like what is on the menu of people, and then tells us what we should be responding to." That may be the key to Gray's electoral success. Added Miliken: "Herb cares more about the concerns of real people than he does about the political fancy of the month." For Gray, the key to travelling far in politics clearly lies in staying close to his beliefs—and to his roots.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa

A general advertising campaign to the June 22, 1992 issue of *Maclean's* magazine



## THE REVITALIZATION OF O CANADA

■ The story of how a small-town disc jockey produced three stirring new renditions of the national anthem.



Canadians have never heard *O Canada* performed quite like this before. The tune is the old familiar national anthem, but what about that second English verse with the stirring lyrics "Great prairies spread and lordly rivers flow"? And isn't that Alanah Myles, the raspy-voiced rock siren, belting out the line?

There are other familiar voices the clear trill of Quebec songstress Nadeau in the French verse and the throaty tones of Toronto concert-

poary blues singer Salomey Bey. But wait, surely that is a rap singer sipping two lates somewhere in the middle. Certainly this isn't the stiff brass band version known to many Canadians. It's born as a passionate ballad for the country and sung by its most accomplished performers, this *O Canada* is not only inspiring national pride, but could hit the charts for the first time since Cohen's *Lavigne* of *Vespaire*, Quid, write the music 112 years ago.



Press Corbin: "If you love your country, you do what you have to do for it."

## The Revitalization of O Canada

The figures behind the recording and two other new symphonic interpretations of Canada's national anthem is a virtual unknown, a 37-year-old broadcaster married Ross Carlin. Working in Oshawa, Ontario, Carlin was, as he says, "just the morning man on CBC-RM," working up a listening audience of 15,000 each day. But in the past year, the union day jockey with the colorful stains and the wry quips has become a power symbol of Canadian patriotism. Against tremendous odds, Carlin, together with his colleague Brian Lyon,



Maureen Forrester (left) and Salome Bey duet and blues singers joined together to record the anthem in a *Turns Are Not Enough* format.

concocted and carried out a project to revitalize the anthem by recording it using more than 200 of the country's top musicians and singers, ranging from Lubin and Cape Breton's MacMillan to contemporary open duo Maureen Forrester, from Dylawry singer Shingee and multi singer Susan Aglukark to Billy Newton-Down, who sings with the a cappella group The Nylons.

"An almost impossible scheme," as they said, but a generous one. Volunteering hundreds of hours of their personal time, the pair assembled the talent to produce the symphonic and contemporary version of O Canada, then sent five copies of the recording to every school in the country — all 14,400 of them. Already the stellar reactions have scored the recognition of many Canadians. Many students are now studying the anthem in Canadian history courses or memorizing the words in both official

languages. Three-time world slating champion Karl Browning uses the symphonic version for the finale in his cross-country show *Star on Ice*. And the federal government is going to use it for the finale of the Canada 125 celebration on July 1. The majority of the lead singers will reside on Parliament Hill for a live performance. As well, on June 30, CTV will again air *With Glowing Hearts*, a one-hour special on the meaning of the anthem, showing footage of the studio sessions. Says Carlin: "The point is if you love your country, you do what you have to do for it."

The saga began at the peak of the Persian Gulf War, in January, 1991, when Carlin resolved to play the anthem every day on his program to support the Canadian troops and to remind listeners how fortunate they are to live in Canada. To his amazement, he could not locate a

high-quality professional recording. Says Carlin: "Even the Secretary of State had only a 1972 version by an RCMP band and another by a children's choir." In the end he played a British record featuring the Regimental Band of the Coldstream Guards.

Insisting though it was, the phone lines lit up every time Carlin put the *Turns O Canada* on the air. Schools began copying their own recordings and mailing them to the station. And troops leaving for the Gulf from Canadian Forces Base Borden, which is within the station's listening range, called in to thank Carlin for inspiring support. "The first recording it happened and the lines lit up, I got choked up," recalls Carlin. "I thought, wow, this song really is significant to people."

Carlin soon discovered that other people in the music industry cared deeply about the anthem and agreed to declare an public life. His ad in an industry trade magazine appealing for help in locating or even recording a good symphonic arrangement of the anthem caught the attention of Toronto record producer Hayward Pennit. Pennit, a portland Newfoundlandian who was the engineer on the acclaimed *Turns Are Not Enough* recording and video in ad of world tours, agreed to produce the record and knew just the person to arrange a new instrumental version. Eric Folgerstein, an award-winning composer and studio musician known for his majestic film scores. Both were prepared to waive their royalties. "Everyone has been so inundated with the RCMP version it's no longer makes an impression and it is difficult to make your country around it," says Pennit. "I wanted to do a high-end version with all the pomp and circumstance it deserves and a few hair flips."

But Carlin proposed an even more daring idea: produce not just a grand instrumental version but a modernized version using the *Turns Are Not Enough* format. And he wanted it to be the best possible recording using performers who reflected the country's musical diversity. "The idea was to make it appealing to children and teenagers," says Pennit. "You don't change

essentials just by constitutions but by actions." Carlin could not have chosen a worse time to mount such an ambitious venture. The recession was showing no signs of abating, and even though performers were willing to donate their time, the sophisticated production required hefty studio fees. He called on his friend Brian Lyon, 37, who owns a specialized advertising agency called The Original Comic Relief Co. in Guelph, Ont. "The idea was risky," says Lyon. "But when I saw the last name somebody called you and said, hey, do you want to do something

## The Revitalization of O Canada

first sponsor, Canada Post Corporation, in the summer of 1991, its contribution provided the funds they needed to produce the story and record a demo tape to play for other potential sponsors. By that time, all eyes were on Canada's constitutional future. One after another, major sponsors (not least Mediacorp, Norbit Ltd., Coca-Cola Ltd., Canadian National, The Prudential Insurance Company of America [Canadian Operations], Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd., and Canadian Airlines International Ltd.)

The producers, too, began to rally



Assembling a 72-piece orchestra for the symphonic version: less editorial, more conviction.

for your country?"

Lyon simplified the concept into a team that could be presented to potential corporate sponsors, performing artists and the project's eventual fund raiser. Carlin's MP Gail Truett. They decided that producers from sales of the \$20 compact disc and cassette should flow to a non-profit foundation called The O Canada Foundation, which would perpetuate distribution of the anthem in Canadian schools. As well, Carlin and Lyon were determined that the project be funded entirely by the private sector and remain free of political affiliations. "We were on a mission," recalls Lyon. "But it seemed more like a dystopian. If it seemed unlikely that it would ever happen."

Working out of their houses, and stretching the limits on their credit cards, the pair labored seven days a week to make it happen. While Gail Truett secured the

around the project, and each had highly individualized reasons for wanting to take part. "I'm very passionate about my nation, I'm not," says Maureen Forrester, who shares a line with Salome Bey in the contemporary version. "I think people stand there and sing O Canada like they're always singing it with you because I think we live in paradise and I'd like everybody else to know it." Folk singer Marney McLachlan explains that despite the current tensions in the country, he wanted to celebrate Canada as a successful cultural experiment. "It's not a jingoist and I don't want to wrap myself in the flag," he says. "But what is the point of not getting up and saying, yeah, I love the land and I am proud to sing the national anthem?"

The scoundrels themselves were uplifting experiences for many of the singers who took part. Pennit, Dylawry-Taylor, who is music director of the Orpheus Choir of



Anthony D. Bates, President and Chief Executive Officer, Coca-Cola Ltd.

Seven Canadian corporations that were about the future of this country have joined forces to create these new versions of O Canada. At Coca-Cola Ltd., we are proud to be associated with the organizers and artists who feel the value and the pertinence to bring this kind of meaningful project to all Canadians. We look forward to hearing O Canada played at schools, clubs, sporting events — anywhere that Canadians gather. When you hear our national anthem, we urge you to join in so that Canada will truly shine in a vision.



R. Ross Johnson, CEO, President, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Canadian Operations.

When we first heard about the revitalization of O Canada we jumped in the chance to participate. As a nation, Canadians have a deeper heart ground to be a Canadian and the efforts of these

Carlin and his group should be applauded. They took up a challenge — bringing over 200 of Canada's finest artists together to create a grandiose version of the national anthem. On behalf of the 2,700 people in our offices across Canada, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, Canadian Operations, is a proud corporate partner of the revitalization of O Canada, every Canadian's "piece of the rock."



Before its revitalization by a group of young Canadian entrepreneurs 80 years ago, *Turns O Canada* just lay sleeping. We have played an important role in Canada's growth as a nation. We have provided four generations of Canadians with high-quality, high-tech cars and trucks. We have generated the simple personal and professional power that sustains a quality of life around the world. By supporting the revitalization of O Canada, we are revitalizing our commitment to a strong, vibrant Canada. "Glorious and Proud!"



Robert W. McLaughlin, Chairman and President, Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd.



## The Revitalization of O Canada



Patric Jusselle, Sam Hedley and Barry Harris in the Toronto chorus very morning and humming.

Toronto, and who conducted the group choruses in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Hamilton, captured the urgency of the anthem while showcasing energetic performances from the artists. "The combination of all these rough and rugged street wise pop and rock musicians juxtaposed with the incredible gentleness and warmth of the conductor and singing that thing that we have all sung since we could always remember was incredible," says participant Din Hill, whose song *Full All Over Again* was recently a Top 40 U.S. hit. "It was very moving and humbling. You feel you are lending your voice to this cause."

"In the studio we were saying let's do it again, we can do it even better," recalls Michael Burgess, the leader who plays Joan Jett's guitar in the Royal Alexandra Theatre's

celebrated production of *Les Misérables*. Burgess was front and center in the Toronto chorus along with other members from the east including two children. He is among Canada's best-selling artists, performing at such sports events as 1997's Miller League Baseball All-Star game in Toronto. He also will host the CTV special on the O Canada project. "This version of O Canada has all the things that a national anthem should have — the pride and the hope for the future — and it makes the hair stand up on the back of your neck," he says. "In a way, something like this will do more good than all the meetings that they can have in Ottawa because anthems cause a feeling

up of feelings about who you are."

In Montreal, participants in the 60-person French chorus, which sings the verses that Adolphe-Basile Bouffier wrote for Lowell's *Ghost National*, also came away with a sense of warmth and brotherhood. "When I got there, I was delighted because there were people ranging from children to seniors," says Germaine Desautels, who performs the anthem at hockey games and whose husband, Roger Desautels, was famous for singing O Canada at Montreal Canadiens home games for a decade. "Personally, I feel that I had never sung the anthem that way in any life before, really, really from the heart." Michael Doran, a freemason, Montrealer, rhythm and blues singer who took part again. "The way we did it was so fresh and young, it could definitely touch people."

Unlike the *From A to Z* though production, where the performers gathered in one place, the O Canada crew travelled to Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Hamilton to record anthems. This created enormous artistic difficulties as Patric attempted to keep a flowing tone from one line to the next — each sung out of sequence days apart at different studios. In the end, Patric edited 310 digital tracks, more than any previous music recording in Canada.

The technical challenges loomed

equally large in the symphonic version, for which a 72-piece orchestra filled Mount Allison Sound recording studios in Toronto. As composed by Robertson, the symphonic piece is a complex modern interpretation with soaring emotional crescendos reminiscent of a film score. "Ordinarily when you hear an anthem, it sounds very majestic, but this was not appropriate for what we were trying to do, so I changed the chords around and varied the tempo to get a greater emotional range," he says. "Canada erupts up wide horizons and long vistas and I needed the music to sound large." The producers also recorded a more conventional short symphonic version that schools can use as a background track over which to recite their own chorusing the anthem.

Robertson was also the one who chose to use the second verse from the first original English version that Robert Stanley Weir wrote in 1908. Sing as a series of solo lines by Gino Vannelli, Alanis Myrie, Paul Jaro, Luba and rapper Mos Def, and backed by liquid guitar riffs by Family Bachman, formerly of Bachman Turner Overdrive, it is perhaps even more inspiring than the first verse because it declares Canada's geographical splendor. But Mos Def's rap, which Patric chose to sing the first "How dare to us the broad domain from East to West" line, had to rewrite the lines because they did not scan in rap. On the recording he now says, "Oh Yeah! From the East Coast to Newfoundland to the West Coast of B.C."

The rest of the anthem's lyrics remain untouched. As students of O Canada know, the stanza in French written for the 1980 St. John's Sagaire Day celebration in Quebec City have such phrases as "Nous aimons nous faire honneur" (We know how to carry the sword) knows how to carry the cross" and bear little resemblance to the official English version. But the French lyrics retained that difference. "I found myself getting a lump in my throat," says Suzanne Stevens, one of the Quebec-born lead vocalists in the French verse. "We forget how much this song characterizes us — the fighter in us, the people who stand up for what they believe in — in this case, national unity."

Calvin and Lyon's O Canada project now seems to have a life of its own. They

## The Revitalization of O Canada

produced a 35 min. film of the short symphonic track suitable for theatre and television. Intended to use as a sign-off at the end of the broadcast day, it features scenes of Canadian life ranging from workers in daydreams to school buses picking up children and new citizens being sworn in. Calvin and Lyon are also hopeful that concert choruses will run the symphonic O Canada at the beginning of each film, a practice that faded out more than a decade ago. Already Toronto's McLaughlin Planetarium is showing a live light show synchro-

Calvin and Lyon now devote themselves full-time to furthering the use of the anthem. And now there is more than just



Brained Ellyse-Taylor conducts the Vancouver chorus, street-wise pop and rock musicians juxtaposed with the incredible gentleness and warmth of the conductor.



Young voices from the Montreal chorus: celebrating the differences between the French and English versions.

sponsors and performers behind them. Thousands of Canadians are joining The O Canada Foundation. "The most important lesson I learned on this project is never give up," says Calvin. "The songs on that cassette are literally my dream come true — and every step was a leap of faith." It is a lesson he hopes other Canadians will take to heart.

Watch for the **Special With Glowing Hearts** Tuesday, June 30 at 10 p.m. EST.

\*Check local listings for details on your area.



Ron Leighton, President and CEO of Creative Office Communications.



When the scores of you are singing in Canadian National, it doesn't stop without saying that you will be involved in a project like this national cultural anthem.

CO is a national institution. Our tracks include all aspects of Canadian culture. They are your bridge and important elements to connect and keep into the U.S. Even the passenger services still includes our our rail network. We make our way in a highly competitive environment to help keep Canadian business competitive.

We're optimistic about Canada's future — and we want your sponsorship of the revitalization of our country's national anthem reflects this optimism.



Ronald W. Oliver, President and CEO of Maclean Hunter.



Maclean Hunter is pleased to have contributed to the revitalization of O Canada. We have had many members behind the revitalization of this important national symbol, drawing on our broadcasting, printing and publishing businesses. Ron Oliver and his team have created these beautiful treatments of Canada's national anthem. These conditions will have a well deserved presence at important public events in our nation's history. Here's to our next 120 years and to our nation's role in contributing to a strong, united country.

# EVERY PARENT'S NIGHTMARE

**A**round with a petition bearing 18,806 signatures, Monica Roney flew to Ottawa last week at the last place of her crusade to stop the sexual abuse of children. The 43-year-old mother of three from Kelowna, B.C., launched her campaign in late 1989 after learning that her son's Grade 6 teacher had been convicted of sexual offences against children. Roney, her husband, Grant, and a group of other alarmed parents implored a student board at the school and forced Kelowna educational authorities to support the teacher. Since then, Roney and her supporters, operating as Citizens Against Child Exploitation, have conducted a high-profile campaign in British Columbia for much tighter government supervision of convicted child molesters. And as Roney presented her organization's petition to the federal government last week, an emerging child sexual abuse scandal at the small town of Montserrat, Sask., resuscitated the issue of safety in her campaign. Declared Roney, "Sex abuse is our national disaster that affects thousands of children."

In recent years, a series of child abductions and cases of sexual abuse has changed the way parents supervise their children. Boys patrol now escort their children to peer leaders swimming lessons and neighbourhood playgroups, and many stay with their children until it is time to go home. The concern is heightened by a number of sexual-abuse charges laid against trusted community members, including Christian lay brothers at St. Andrew and Alfred, Ont., and several elementary-school teachers in British Columbia. The question is, when can parents trust with their children? Indeed, in some parishes and isolated areas, the parents themselves have participated in the craziest crimes. At the same time, some experts warned that the Montserrat scandal, involving charges of sexual abuse of about 30 children at an isolated private home, reawakened old parental doubts and anxieties—and heightens the debate over the viability of adequate day care in Canada (page 36). In the Saskatchewan case, police have laid 172 charges against non-profits, including the operators of the centre and several police officers (page 36). Rumors of ritual abuse in Montserrat, and statements by mental-health therapists that well-adjusted Saskatchewan sex-abuse children, have also surfaced (page 36). And William Marshall, director of the Kingston Sex Abuse Behaviour Clinic in Ontario, "The big problem is that the abuser is often the fellow

parent too. It's very difficult for parents to protect their children."

For the young victims and their families, sexual abuse can have devastating effects. Eve Hesley, a retired movie-theatre manager living in Lethbridge, Alta., who is trying to organize a local chapter of Roney's organization, said that her eight-year-old granddaughter was raped and seduced by a teenage, now 18, over a three-year period ending last December. Now, added Hesley, her granddaughter is receiving counselling, suffers from nightmares and depression and sometimes refuses to eat. At the same time, Hesley expresses frustration over the fact that her granddaughter's attacker was convicted on only one of five charges laid against him, and received a one-year suspended sentence, on March 13, last Monday. "The way our courts deal with child abusers is disgraceful,"

**Narrowing:** Other parents complain that laying charges against alleged abusers who are also respected members of the community can be a divisive and harrowing experience. Marlene Parker, a 45-year-old mother of two from Nanaimo, B.C., said that her daughter, now 18, and two other women accused a high-school music teacher of sexual abuse in the fall of 1986. Parker added that the teacher eventually resigned and was convicted of one offence. But Parker had to send her daughter to school in Victoria for three months because she received so much verbal and physical abuse from students who supported the teacher. Said Parker, "This teacher was very well respected, and the community went behind him, rather than the victims."

The effects of child sexual abuse can literally last a lifetime. David McCain, now 46, contends that he was sexually abused between 1959 and 1961 by some of the Christian brothers who ran a training school at Alfred, near Ottawa. McCain's decision to make his allegations public in late 1989 led to an extensive police investigation of the Alfred school and a similar institution in Uxbridge, Ont., and dozens of charges against 20 Christian Brothers. McCain, who now runs a Kingston-based self-help group for victims of abuse, said that he has contacted more than 360 former residents of the schools and found that many had suffered from drug and alcohol abuse, some had spent time in prison and few had decent jobs. He claims that much of that bad-life history stems from their demoralization as a result of the abuse at the school. Said McCain, "It's incredible how much of their lives have become."

Increased public awareness of the threat of sexual abuse has led to a

new vigilance among many parents with young children. Anne Shea, a 31-year-old Halifax teacher and mother of two children, ages 3 and 6, said that most parents now closely monitor their children, even when they are participating in such innocuous activities as swimming lessons. But Shea "has accompanied my children almost everywhere because public places are scary now." That view was echoed by Stephen DeRoosier, 36, a Bell Canada manager from Ottawa and the father of two children, both under the age of 5. "We will be more vigilant than our parents were," he declared. "Parents today will be scrutinizing the adults that spend time with their children much more closely."

**Fantasies:** Experts on sexual abuse say that the violence must also extend to friends, neighbors and family members. The reason most children are abused by someone they know and trust. Rex Rogers, chief executive officer of the Toronto-based Institute for the Prevention of Child Abuse, said that 58 per cent of all abuse occurs in the home and another 30 per cent occurs at the hands of trained individuals, including relatives, doctors and sports coaches. The remainder involves strangers. Rogers added that during the past 30 years, social workers, child-care workers, doctors and other professionals have become more vigilant

at recognizing sexually abused children and intervening to stop the abuse.

Still, most professionals concede that detecting a potential abuser is extremely difficult even for the most vigilant parent. Marshall, for one, said that after assessing and treating thousands of pedophiles (adults who prefer children to sexual partners) he has concluded that there are such things as a typical offender. According to Marshall, they do not possess common personality traits, recognizable personality profiles. There are some suggestions, 67 per cent of pedophiles are male, and most develop their preference for children as teenagers. Their sexual fantasies usually involve children, and some choose play and balloons that will give them access to young people. And many pedophiles are clever, manipulative and deceptive.

Last July the B.C. ministry of health released a study that contained a chilling depiction of the behavior of sexual abusers. Terence Russell, director of the ministry's child and youth mental health branch, said that the study traced 24 men and two women who had been charged between 1985 and 1991, with multiple offences against children. They had been a source of abusing a total of 2,096 children, or an average of 79 each.

Almost half of the offenders had been related to another victim who had been charged with sexual offences or accused of sexual suspicion in three former locations. And 86 per cent of them had lost jobs or positions that required the trust of the community. One man, Russell noted, was named leader of the year in 1979 by his fellow citizens but was later charged with sexual offences against children. While offenders educate the respect of their peers, the study says, they rely on parents and municipalities to control children into participating in sexual acts.

**Exploitation:** Revisions over such activities, leading to increased demands that governments and other institutions act to help protect children. Roney, for one, says that steps must be taken to ensure that convicted child molesters are kept away from children. And on the same day that Roney presented her petition to Ottawa, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops released its final report on child sexual abuse. The bishops' report, which was requested by the scandal-shake-up at the Mount Carmel orphanage in St. John's, Nfld., contains 58 recommendations aimed at eliminating abuse, including rigorous screening of candidates for the priesthood. As well, the report concludes that a "general complicity of silence" within the church had allowed sexual abuse of children to continue.

Roney said that her organization, which has branches in Kelowna, Vernon and Nanaimo, also advocates a careful scrutiny of people convicted of sexual offences against children; that school boards, private companies or sports and leisure organizations could sue to screen job applicants and volunteers. Whether the outcome of the petition, reports, politicians and others will clearly be in unending pressure to find new ways to help and the cruel exploitation of Canada's children.

**DARCY SCOTT** with KAREN LEWIS in Halifax and LIZZY FOSHER in Ottawa



The DeRoosier family: "We will be more vigilant than our parents were"

# THE MARTENSVILLE SCANDAL

## A SASKATCHEWAN TOWN CONFRONTS THE HORROR OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE CHARGES

The words have the ring of small-town pride: "Welcome to Martensville, the fastest-growing town in Saskatchewan," proclaims the sign on Highway 83, about 10 km north of Saskatoon. But in Martensville, boisterous has been replaced by dismay and horror as the community tries to come to terms with a scandal that has shocked the country. Earlier this month, in Saskatchewan's redoubt, fortress-style provincial court, authorities laid 342 charges against nine area residents relating to the sexual abuse of about 30 Martensville children at a local play-

ing centre and nearby farm. That scandal severely damaged the community's self-image as a haven from Saskatoon's big-city woes. But Martensville officials vow that they will fight back—and beat the pain among the town's 3,400 residents. Says Mayor Robin Francis: "While we have lost something very important, the upside is we go out—that it does hurt."

It will be a slow process. To date, police have laid a total of 172 charges—arresting 29 over previous months—and they say that more may follow as their investigations continue. The charges have shaken residents' faith in their authorities: those of the defendants are police officers; another two are former Martensville police chiefs. As described in the charges, the crimes, alleged to have been committed between 1980 and 1991 against children between the ages of 3 and 12, are ugly. They include unlawful confinement, assault with a hypodermic needle, sexual assault, sodomy, administering a "staple-free drug" and solicitation with a police officer with intent to travel a person incapable of resistance. Rumors that the defendants were part of a local satanic cult continue to circulate at the occasion. And those charged continue to remain in the news—and as the consciousness of Martensville residents.

Last week, five of the defendants—Dennis Sobush, 29, an RCMP constable from nearby

Wassau, Saskatoon police Cpl. John Popowich, 46, former police chief Barry Ford, 43, and Edward Bennett, 45, and a woman who cannot be identified under provisions of the Young Offenders Act—were mostly on bail. In what Saskatoon provincial court Judge Robert Finlay described as "the most difficult bail hearing" which I have presided," he also ordered the four men not to come within a 16-km radius of the community. Some Martensville residents said that the fear would be well advised to observe that restriction. Declared Barry Gower, pastor of the Martensville Baptist Church: "These people had better not come back for now. Many residents are broken and angry and their feelings are abused."

**Betrayed:** Four other defendants remained in custody: Ronald Sterling and his wife, Leona, both 44, who operated the babysitting service as the landlady of their Martensville home, their son Travis, 23, and suspected Martensville police officer James Elstad, 42. But provincial justice officials, perhaps because of the inflated estimates in Martensville, moved them away from their embattled and angry community. They transferred Ronald Sterling from the Saskatoon Correctional Centre, where he had once been an assistant deputy director, to Regina, 335 km southeast. The son and Elstad went to Regina, too. Leona Sterling, meanwhile, was in custody at

the Pine Grove Correctional Centre in Prince Albert, 120 km northeast of Martensville. According to Martensville Police Chief Michael Johnston, child crimes have been made against the Sterlings. Said Popowich: "People are angry about what is supposed to have happened to those kids. And they feel betrayed by the police."

Martensville's current dilemma is particu-

larly acute because of the town's small size. Martensville is the only town in Saskatchewan of the need to organize more community activities, such as inter-dimensional games and block parties. Last week, Peterson and the other 23 members of a hastily organized task force began their efforts to rebuild the community's self-confidence by holding three well-attended town meetings in local schools. "We are putting things back together," Francis said. "One

53, who has lived in Martensville for 12 years. "Things will die down and then it will become fresh again when those charged go to trial." And he added that many parents, especially, face a period of uncertainty. Said Stone: "It is a town we all like to live in, but today there are some people who are afraid to let their kids go out alone."

That fear has affected not only parents, but also children. Psychological help is available, social workers, including members of the provincial government's McNeil Child Clinic, at Saskatoon and school-based therapists, are counselling children affected by the scandal. Schools closed last Tuesday to enable teachers to attend counselling sessions on how to help students deal with their confusion. As for the alleged victims of the abuse, they may and play freely with other children. But for some of them, childhood games cannot mask the psychological damage. "Some show symptoms of trauma," Francis said. "They need someone to talk to, to explain what went on and to convince



Reveals: Ford (right) site of alleged sexual abuse (opposite): arrests have shaken residents' faith in their authorities

lately painful for some residents who considered their town to be a tropical resort from which to escape the world. Established in 1903 and named after the farming family who originally owned the site, the town features two strip malls and one bar with associated liquor. Many night straight streets that give way to flat, grassy fields and white farms. "This is a bedroom community," Pyrie, 46, told Martensville. "Everyone goes up in the morning and heads to Saskatoon. And they come back in the late afternoon."

According to Peterson, the average age of Martensville's residents is 19—a population that earned the town the nickname "Teenerville." The resistance of youth may also help

defence plead in the case to understand what sexual abuse is, and how to explain the idea that the good cop will evade even if no other policeman are involved in this. But I don't understand this crap myself. How do you get a teenager to understand it?"

**Absent:** Some residents recently expressed hope for their town's future. As about 380 people left one of the task force's meetings last week, one Martensville woman said: "That is a close community. I think we will manage to bring the community together again." Others, though, said that they wonder if the shock and the pain can ever be totally overcome. "It will certainly take time for many people to get over this," said service-station owner James Stone,

then they were not the bad people." Added the grandmother of one of the children whose father was accused: "It is going to be a long process for the victims. My grandson has nightmares and won't sleep in the basement."

Messages of moral support have poured into Peterson's office in the town's council chambers on Centennial Drive from such cities as Winnipeg, Regina and Vancouver. Last week, Premier Roy Romanow and Social Services Minister James MacKinnon visited Martensville to meet residents of the government's continuing help, including keeping counsellors on duty throughout the summer. And Sandra Lewis, the former mayor of Pelly, Ont., where more than 50 people have been charged since 1990



was told rooms of abuse against children, also offered to fly to Martinsville. "Her advice was that these things don't go on for a long time," and Friesen, who spoke to Lewis by telephone "She says to treat it like a bona fide case." The leading person to interview, with all the emotions of shock, disbelief and anger."

Some of that anger—and suspicion—was diverted towards the town's police force. Chief Johnston, who joined the force in March, 1982, after 25 years with the RCMP, acknowledges that the scandal has strained its police officers, but that he takes a monumental task in gauging the confidence of Martinsville residents. "This is a mind-boggling, right up there among the most disturbing cases I've ever handled," Johnston said. "Police are not above the law. Leading things will take time. We will get out not more the people, be available."

**Satanic:** Last week, as children played ball, rode their bicycles at the streets and swished in a local swimming pool, Martinsville seemed to the way to a peaceful town, a town of a peaceful community. But beneath the surface, other specters haunted the community. According to the charges, the crimes occurred at the Storings' home and in a pale blue



Johnston: This is right up there among the most disturbing cases

shed that sits on pasture land 13 km northwest of Martinsville. Last week, as police continued to investigate the possible use of that shed by Satans, many people speculated about the role of devil worship in the scandal.

Others expressed certainty that cult rituals had played a part in the abuse. "There have been rumors of satanic cults throughout the area," Friesen told McNeel's. "I have no proof, but I don't dispute them if you get people abusing children as groups, this group part suggests there is more to this actual

abuse." For his part, Gosses, the Shaggy junior, said that he had no satanic symbols on local cars. Although he acknowledged that "we need more evidence," Gosses added: "It has to be organized. There is a lot of discussion involved and talk of people bonded together in satanic worship."

The nature of Satans will clearly add to the difficulty of obtaining Martinsville's story. But Friesen remains optimistic that Martinsville's efforts will prove successful. "We lost the role of Satans-growing community (to another town)," he said. "Maybe we can't. The 'possessed' view." We will find something." But many questions remain for the audience. "People were

des, as I do, how something like this could have happened over our noses and we didn't know anything about it," Friesen added. And for now, with the nine defendants scheduled for a preliminary hearing on June 30, the scandal will continue to bring the community uneasiness. The Martinsville Star Phoenix, distributed locally, seems to go with the small but headline that it was on its daily review of the story: "Martinsville nightmare."

JOHN HOFFE is in Martinsville

# THE SATAN FACTOR

## BIZARRE CULTS PROMOTE CHILD SEX ABUSE

Satan, the Lord of Hell in Judaism and Christianity, now resides on the fringes of Western society—appearing mainly in horror movies and in the backwater districts of satanic organelles. But across North America, a growing number of respected mental health therapists have come to the chilling conclusion that the heinous crimes of pedophilia who claim to have been sexually abused by members of satanic cults are true reflections of their experience. Similarities in their reports, involving bizarre ceremonies and the rape and torture of children, were once thought to be symptomatic of a terrible psychological illness. Now, in child abuse and incest have emerged from the shadows to become the subject of widespread public inquiry.

The victims are not just real. Said Louise Boyd, who heads the government of Minnesota's satanic awareness program: "We are getting more of our information about the satanic cults from adult survivors. These stories, including human sacrifices, are realistic, as realistic as that part of North America they are from."

Witness: The child-abuse scandal in Martinsville, Sask., has added further fuel to the controversy. Although police say that they have no firm evidence, some residents of the town claim that devil worship takes place in this community—and that it has behind the 173 charges laid against one people: David Gosses, pastor of the Martinsville-based Church. "There are stories of cars and rabbits being skinned alive and their entrails eaten," some experts, meanwhile, say that the revelation the heinous conspiracy just north of Saskatoon follows a pattern that is often associated with the satanic abuse of children. Boyd said that Satans often involves a close-knit group of suspected victims who, because of their positions of authority, are able to hide their activities.

Children become the victims of satanic cults because much of Satans' sexual Christianity is based in the case of children. John Gosses, a Christian, declares that sex with chil-

dren is normal—but Satans believe that the ultimate act of their faith is to violate a child. And according to two satanic women in Western Canada, who are now undergoing psychiatric counselling because they say that their parents induced them into satanic cults when they were children, the abuse is extremely cruel. One of the women told McNeel's that an satanic ceremony, she was forced to perform and see on men in black robes.

The abuse revealed being spread—often in

with their victims. Boyd said that children are often lured in such scenarios or lured to the family pet and then the raw flesh of dead animals. Girls as young as 7 and 8 are penetrated by adult males in incestuous marriages to Satans. Sometimes, children are seduced by group members. To survive, the female must dissociate itself from the town, according to Harvey Armstrong, a psychiatrist who has treated victims of Satans. As a result, children will feel socially outside of the cult—without consciously remembering their experiences.

**Sacrifice:** Some of the memories that the reports share from their victims are shocking even to them. Michael Irving, a Toronto psychologist who counsels for victims of satanic ritual abuse, said that almost invariably the victims refer to "brothers"—adolescent girls who are engaged by a Satanic. The results

children are abused by the cult sexually, or sacrificed and eaten, often with a mixture of blood, vomit and urine. He said that the victims of the women in Western Canada "I remember a child who was about one year old being cut up with an axe, and we were forced to eat it."

While such stories can be difficult to accept, many experts say that they likely believe that human sacrifice is taking place. Said Irving: "Satans believe that Satans want the baby, and if you kill a baby, there is an energy that goes to the group. You are 'it' with Satans."

As more allegations of satanic abuse are brought forward, more information on the extent of Satans activities may emerge from the shadows. But, for now, Armstrong said that it is difficult to estimate how many people may be involved. The cult's highly organized, highly secretive activities also make detection difficult. In Martinsville, for one, police have acknowledged that they are examining allegations that the abuse was ritualistic. That has left Martinsville swarming with rumors—and of women's parents wondering if the accused David Gosses did, indeed, create their community in some form.

DOM FENNEL

## A SCANDAL'S HISTORY

### 1981:

Ronald and Linda Sterling arrive in Martinsville. A short time later, they open an advertising subagency in their home.

### Early 1988:

The Martinsville police force receives a complaint regarding sexual abuse at the subagency service. No charges are laid.

### Summer, 1988:

Longtime Martinsville Police Chief Duane Ford is transferred to the town's police works department, replaced by Chief Edward Bivens.

### August, 1991:

Filed with reports of five sexual abuse at the local police force, Martinsville Mayor Robert Friesen asks the Saskatchewan Police Commission to investigate. No report is forthcoming.

### September, 1991:

Martinsville police begin an investigation after receiving another complaint of sexual abuse at the Sterlings' subagency service. Martinsville Const. Charles Bivens, a former RCMP officer who joined the local force only weeks earlier, discovers that a file on the 1988 abuse complaint is missing. Despite harassment and threats from a fellow officer, Bivens continues her investigation. But after other members of the force become subject of investigation, Bivens receives her case file from the police headquarters. Chief Bivens is suspended after complaints from town council about his management

of the force. Under provisions of the provincial Police Act, he is allowed to resign.

**October and November, 1991:** Police charge the Sterlings' 21-year-old son, Travis, with three counts of sexual assault and three counts of sexual touching.

### December, 1991:

Police charge Linda Sterling with two counts of sexual assault, one count of poisoning a witness and one count of uttering a threat.

### Jan. 28, 1992:

Police charge Ronald Sterling with three counts of sexual assault, one count of poisoning a witness and one count of uttering a threat.

### March 2, 1992:

RCMP veteran Michael Johnston becomes the town's police chief.

### April, 1992:

Police charge former Martinsville police officer James Riddell with a total of 14 counts, including sexual assault and sexual touching.

### June 4 and 5, 1992:

Police lay 367 more charges against Linda, Ronald and Travis Sterling and Bivens. They also lay 36 charges against Ford and Bivens. Sherrie Gosses, an RCMP officer from nearby Winnipeg, Saskatoon police Cpl. John Popovich, and a young woman who cannot be identified under the Young Offenders Act.

### June 8, 1992:

Popovich, Bivens, Johnston, Ford and the unidentified woman are released on bail. The other defendants remain in custody.



# THE SEARCH FOR SAFE DAY CARE

## PARENTS WANT TIGHTER REGULATION

**T**he little blond girl in the baseball cap and flowered shorts picked, "I just do"—then laughed as the bubble she was chasing vanished at her feet. Beside her, a smugly smiled woman told that his low-green sunglasses were nice—but upside down. Both toddlers were playing over the fence in an outdoor play area at the Hydro-

While the threat of child abuse is a constant concern for many parents, the gravity and prevalence of abuse in the alleged abuses in Windsor, Ont., has brought the issue into public's sharp focus. The case of the alleged crimes, an unlicensed babysitting centre in a private home, has also revived a nationwide debate over the availability of quality day care

like Martineville has to happen to bring child care back to the forefront as a national issue."

Currently, 70 per cent of Canadian mothers with children under the age of 18 work outside the home. Many of them face similar problems with finding adequate and affordable day care. Up to 90 per cent of Canadian families who send their child care also receive substantial delays, including salaries. Only eight per cent of children are placed in licensed day care centres. Although many parents say that they are happy with their arrangements, they also acknowledge that their thoughts frequently turn to the safety of their children. Sandra Goring, Brantford-Killbuck, a teacher and Ontario mother of two who uses private child care on a part-time basis. "Everyone has fears about whether their child is going to be neglected or abused," she added. "With as many women going back to work now, I think there should be some sort of federal control. It shouldn't be up to them."

In fact, many licensed day care centres, such as the Hydro-Durham facility, are a common advertisement for government regulations. Located on the main floor of Ontario Hydro's new Ajax headquarters, the centre has six large sunny rooms, including playrooms with slides and climbing structures, a kitchen large enough to accommodate cooking classes, a music and an art room. Classrooms are crisscrossed with toys and displays that emphasize language skills, music and science. In one room, a rabbit roams on a window ledge not far from a hanging globe, a garden has filled with earth and flowers and a tank of goldfish. All rooms, including bedrooms, can be viewed from behind a one-way mirror. If children see any while in the bedrooms, they are permitted to come to a kind Centre director, Judy Gray says that the 56 children registered at the centre are closely supervised by 13 staff members, all but one of whom have a community college diploma or university degree in early childhood education. Frequent head counts are a regular part of every day.

Still, Gray notes, some parents are so fearful for their children's safety that they will not allow known and known from the centre's staff. And the only rule staff member, Marc Buttle, said that he sometimes has to deal with parents from parents who are uncomfortable with the presence. "One family came for a tour, saw me, and said, 'No thanks,'" he added. Buttle pointed out that most parents who get to know him are most confident about his abilities, and even come to visit the premises at a positive end. But he also noted that the centre of fear surrounding the threat of sexual abuse, even qualified child care workers are coming under fire—and sometimes unfairly.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM with LOUIE FRANK in Ottawa



Children at the Hydro-Durham College Early Learning Centre: close supervision

Durham College Early Learning Centre in Ajax, a town of 45,000 about 25 km east of Toronto. As they talked with a stranger standing outside the fence, day care staff members busy with other children stopped to talk over and reassess the situation. Settled, they turned away again, and the two children resumed their play. On a bright June day, the summer passed quickly. But even such slight contact with a stranger was noted and reported by the children's supervisors. But Mary Lynn West-Meyers, manager of child-care operations at Durham College, which runs the centre jointly with Ontario Hydro. "More parents are becoming alarmed because of things they hear. There are isolated incidents, but they are also warning, and tell us that it is important to be vigilant with our procedures."

and has led to demands for more government-supervised facilities. Already the Saskatchewan government has announced plans to strengthen its Child Care Act, to appoint an independent child care watchdog and to hire additional child-protection workers.

**Privacy:** But champions of day care say that such news tends to be done. And Pius, a mother of two, a co-leader of the Ontario-based Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association and executive director of a nonprofit parent-run day care centre in Richmond. She says that the key to better child care is to give it the same priority that other social institutions receive. "If the province treated child care like schools and hospitals, and had regulations we all had to follow, we could get more higher quality child care," she said. "It's a tall thing that a 'magical

## PEOPLE

### Of love and loss

**Singer Rod Stewart** clearly prefers blues, but remaining there has had expensive consequences. In 1977, Stewart, across **Britt Ekland**, 41, who had lived with Stewart for 24 years, sued him for \$14 million in damages, settling for \$600,000. In 1984, in **Alaska**, 48, was a reported \$1.2-million divorce settlement and



Ekland (left), Stewart: expensive tastes

\$12,000 a month in child support. Last year, **Kelly Embury**, 32, who lived with Stewart from 1983 to 1990 and who is the mother of his daughter **Ruby**, 5, claimed that she had quit her job as a Sports Illustrated swimsuit model to be with him—and filed a \$38-million paternity suit. But Stewart, 47, now married to 22-year-old model **Rachel Hunter**, says he's strong of love: lives and last week, a Los Angeles judge threw the lawsuit out of court.

### A warm welcome Down Under

In the land of double-billed playhouses, another strange breed is drawing attention in Australia: members of the **Woopie Film Group**. Last week, the Sydney International Film Festival mounted a 17-piece retrospective on

the group, and its quirky productions played to packed houses. *Dog Star*, 26 minutes of anecdotes by canine owners, premiered at 10 a.m. but, said director **Sherren Jervett**, 38, "2,000 people were there." The recognition has been fabulous. "Dog Star" is a tradition of bizarre in-

Jervett: recruiting



### Going for broke

**Brie Larson** says that her greatest ally as an actress is "to feel most relaxed during filming." And actor, director, her secret: her well. **Meredith** (Brie) has worked with director **Martin Scorsese** (*New York Stories*) and will star in Canadian director **David Weir** (*My Love My Love*), set to be released next spring. But despite her success, **Brie**, 24, says that "The only thing I'm most proud of" is "The most ambitious young child I've ever known."

Brie: "I'm still hungry for much more"

## AN UNUSUAL TRAIN OF THOUGHT

**R. Murray Scheriff**, 58, says that art "should be invading every corner of our lives," and he has believed that credo by setting his eyes on unusual places, at unusual times. The latest mystic effort from the Toronto, Ont.-born entrepreneur is being staged in the Great Hall of Toronto's Union Station, between midnight and 3 a.m., until June 26. The *Alchemical Theatre* at Murray Scheriff is one of the most unusual of the search for the elusive state of gold—a process only slightly more miraculous than making trains run on time.

## STAR TURN

**Donny Osmond**, 34, has spent much of his adult life overcoming his past. As a brothered vocalist, he founded the **Osmond Brothers** singing group and as a teen idol he accumulated 23 gold records in nine years. It was a tough sell to follow, and Osmond has struggled to rebuild his career. This summer, he will star in the Toronto production of *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, a musical based on the biblical story. Said Osmond: "It just seems that if you have any kind of success when you are young, then for some reason it just can't be taken seriously."



Osmond: taken seriously



nostalgia from the **Woopie** group, an independent film-makers' co-operative that includes **Guy Maddin**, director of the 1988 cult classic *Tales from the Gimli Hospital*. Introducing the retrospective, Jervett appealed to the **Woopie** group's apparent fascination with things **Murder**. "I signed them all on," she said, "as honorary **Woopies**."



to appeal to a new centrist voting bloc that grows closer to the majority system in 19 years. In 1912, former Republican president Theodore Roosevelt used the electoral college to an unsuccessful re-election bid under the banner of his own Bull Moose movement. But later, Roosevelt made an attempt to found a third party of his own. And his popularity has already surpassed that of the most recent third-party candidate, former Illinois congressman John Anderson, whose support topped out at 34 per cent in June 1980, before falling to just 6.6 per cent in that year's November election. But Anderson's suit-hungry bid for his lack of campaign funds, a handicap that Perot, who has declared himself willing to spend \$100 million of his own money, does not share.

Noting that party membership has registered a steady decline over the past three decades, some experts have hailed Perot's attempt to establish parties politics as a positive move for the future. Said Charles Petras, editor of the neo-liberal Washington Monthly: "A lot of his views are ones I agree with: he was anti-war, pro cutting back entitlements for the rich, and he's far more control and pro-choice (on abortion). These things all add up to a constant of conservatism and liberalism that I think is representative of the average American than most party ideologues."

Perot's appeal cuts across the political spectrum. Late last month, at the wake of the race-tragedy Los Angeles riots, Perot accepted an invitation to meet with former presidential contender Jesse Jackson and his top aide from the 1988 campaign. Out of these men emerged Robert Borjas, of Washington's liberal Institute for Policy Studies, who acknowledged that he had arrived at the session with the preconception that Perot was a right-wing look-alike to conspiracy theories and penny-dreadful demagogues. Said Borjas: "I used to feel he was a nut." "It is about time, after perusing Perot with questions, Borjas said he found the Texas businessman "a sane and much more liberal than I'd imagined."

In fact, in persuasively denoting Perot decoupled the proposed North American free trade agreement as a threat to U.S. industrial jobs that one participant at the meeting heard about the program in the first place. In fact, one favorite candidate, Jesse Jackson (Thomas Harrison, who dropped out of the race for the Democratic nomination last February) warned the official, who asked for anonymity: "Unless someone starts going to find it hard to resist these leaderships will go straight for Perot!"

Similarly, Roger Wilkins, another former

Jackson adviser, found Perot's response to the L.A. riots more convincing than that of Clinton, who had declared that what the nation needed was a tougher bid to fight crime. After disavowing Perot's lecture on inner-city unemployment and blight, Wilkins turned on CNN the next day to find the Dallas billionaire parading back his job-creation program with a homespun Texas twist: "If it walks, give it a job." Said Wilkins: "It he keeps talking like he's going to get a lot of black votes. The Democrats can't count on blacks automatically anymore."

But Perot's anti-establishment conviction to reemphasize the current political terrain has been in the mystery of the media, granting a new brand of what has been called "telepopulism." After years of candidates' complaints

Said Larry Sabato, a political science professor at Charlottesville's University of Virginia: "Perot comes across as the ultimate country-club populist, but he has proved even shrewder than George Bush in manipulating the media."

Sabato points out that, so far, Perot has managed to counter-claim criticism of his past activities or policies by confining his supporters to television forums where he can continue to get in the last word. Just he predicts that Perot will expand that approach this fall, leaving television time to stage call-in shows where his aides are able to prosecute the odds. Television networks are unlikely to bail all a Perot candidacy during an election that would otherwise, as Sabato put it, "be rarer than a



Perot on set of today show last week parroted policy with a homespun Texas twist

that the press routinely dominates the political agenda, the former 30 salesmen who grew rich by using the possibility of peddling computer software instead of hardware has again calculated it was to lose communications technology to his advantage. This week, Perot underbates a five-city tour that is scheduled to end with a foray in the waterfront of Annapolis, Md., where he graduated in 1955 from the Naval Academy, and where he is expected to make his candidacy official. But until now, Perot has largely avoided traditional political rallies. And he has also eschewed the mainstream media, finding a receptive audience among voters by denouncing the modern administration with second-life politics.

Indeed, Perot has perched out of his appearances on selected television talk shows, notably his unprecedented two-hour call-in session on NBC's Today show last week. In doing so, he has cultivated an aura of folksy accessibility that Clinton has not managed in nine months of conventional, press-mingled campaigning.

glam life of said. Added Sabato: "They underestimate that Ross Perot is the green that's going to lay the golden egg for news-show ratings in the fall."

It is still uncertain whether Perot's shrewd stage-making or keep-his-name-in-the-candidacy alive until the November elections. But few observers doubt that his campaign has irrevocably transformed the way Americans—and others—approach politics. One person who predicts that Perot's impact will be felt well beyond the American border is Frank Lauter, a 30-year-old Connecticut-born politician who is working as an analyst for Perot. Lauter has also been listed for another politician who is trying to cultivate an outsider's image and cash in on voter discontent with politics-as-usual. Canada's Reform party leader Preston Manning: "If Perot does well," pronounced Lauter, "that is as going to blow right across the Canadian border."

MARCI McDONALD in Washington

## GERMANY

# If Hitler had won

A British novel imagines a Nazi Europe

THE year is 1944. German dictator Adolf Hitler, victor of the Second World War, is living in Berlin, presiding over a Europe of puppet states where everyone craves German cash. Indeed to Germans rules and statutes German as the official second language. That is the state of affairs in *Fatherland* (Random House, 368 pages, \$28.95), a controversial first novel by English journalist Robert Harris, chief columnist for the *London Sunday Times*. Soon after it appeared in Britain in mid-May, the book shot to the top of the country's best-seller lists. It has also been translated into 11 European languages, and has just been published in North America. Its popularity results partly from a fascination with what might have been. But it also plays into fears over the transition to European political union. Germany, with its powerful economy, is in a position to dominate the new European superstate. And while the German empire that Harris evokes is a much darker and crueler place than the Germany of the past, it also plays into European political union. Germany, with its powerful economy, is in a position to dominate the new European superstate. And while the German empire that Harris evokes is a much darker and crueler place than the Germany of the past, it also plays into European political union.

The Germans themselves are wary of *Fatherland*. More than 28 German publishers turned down the book before a Swiss firm finally bought the German language rights. "The book has struck a chord about a German superstate, which we now have,"

said Harris, 35, whose 1988 nonfiction work about the legend Hitler, *Dr. Joseph Hitler*, was also a best-seller. But while the book's sales pushed momentum among Germans, it is also a timely warning to the minority who look back fondly on (and would like to re-create) the Nazi past.

Harris' postwar Germany is a spiritual wasteland. Berlin is a vast, impersonal city divided by eerily accurate monuments to military triumphs (over 49 crosses higher than the Arc de Triomphe in Paris) and dwells on German war prisoners. They are split an arm's length from Eastern European slaves and servants to keep their economy running. Berlin's handbags and accessories attempts by the underclass are odious. The ruthless, highly efficient police force has spies everywhere, and no one is safe from their prying eyes. An informant is killed for a Berlin newspaper. "A police state is a country run by criminals."

Still, the hero of *Fatherland* is himself a

German policeman. Konrad March is searching for a black figure who taught, honest cop inside the area of Berlin and crime novels. A workaholic who has made a name of his (he's only 40—his wife has divorced him and his 10-year-old son despises him—he works away at



Hitler (left) and generals paraded with modern Europe

his job with a Woodhouse's intensity. When he investigates a suspicious drowning in a Berlin lake, he ignores his superior's orders to stand down. March eventually discovers that the dead man was an ex-convict of Hitler and an important player in Hitler's program to rid Europe of all Jews. Like most Europeans in the novel, March knows that the Jews have vanished, but he has refused to imagine their fate. When he stumbles on the secret of Hitler's death, he sees for the first time the depths of the moral corruption on which the regime is based. With the help of an American journalist, Charlotte (Gloria) Maguire, he tries to assemble papers documenting the Holocaust to the United States, which has refused a free country. Meanwhile, the German secret police are determined to find and destroy him.

*Fatherland* vividly evokes echoes of another novel about a totalitarian state, George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. In both books, the heroes become desperate fugitives in their own countries, living between the cracks of a sys-

tem bent on destroying individuality wherever it finds it. March is surrounded by brownshod Germans who live and breathe the myth of Teutonic superiority. These children once pray to Hitler. March's son, Pia, is in training with the Hitler Youth organization—and has turned into a hard-boiled detective when March tries unsuccessfully to reach him. In the end, his love for Pia proves to be March's undoing.

Hitler does not actually appear in the novel. He spends most of his time as a mysterious recluse in a grand palace described for him by the Nazi architect Albert Speer (the radio show was impressed by Speer's account). But the suffocating stomp of Hitler's personality is everywhere in the Berlin that Harris has imagined, from the Nazi symbols that decorate the streets to the endless sounds of Wagner—Hitler's favorite composer—that flood the airwaves. The dictator has also banned the works of certain writers considered to be "un-Germanic," including Orwell and Graham Greene. On the other hand, the popular British author Barbara Cartland has gained official approval for romantic novels with such titles as *The Kaiser's Ball*.

In Harris' imaginary postwar world, the Jewish ghetto survives. Winston Churchill, his fled to Canada, while the British throne is accepted by the Nazi sympathizer Edward VIII and his American wife, Queen Wallis. Germany's main enemy, however, is the United States, under the war's end in 1945, the two countries have been locked in a nuclear standoff. The Americans have been supplying arms to the Russians, who are waging a guerrilla war from the unconquered parts of their country behind the Urals. But as *Fatherland* opens, Germany and the United States are on the verge of reconciliation. The pro-

Nazi president, Joseph Kennedy (the novel's hero), is about to visit Berlin. Right to win down the costly Russian border, he would like to establish a new distance between the superpowers. The German regime fears that if March's discoveries about the Jews become known, Hitler's plans—and Kennedy's chance for re-election—would be ruined.

Harris' language is often carefully ordinary. But he is a cunning master of plots, and in his final making chapters, his book is extremely suspenseful. Most impressive, it has a convincing moral dimension. The point of March's struggle is to show that no society is better than the one it creates. It is a warning to Americans and Germans. And although Harris has said that the Nazi Germany of his book is decidedly not the real Germany of modern times, his suggestive portrait has struck a subconscious nerve within that country and in many others, as well.

JOHN DEMME

# MANY BELLS ARE TOLLING

**BELL LOSES ITS LONG-DISTANCE MONOPOLY AS OTTAWA OPENS THE PHONE LINES TO COMPETITION**

**S**taking bonds with Michael Keeler is like shaking hands with a vise. But even his inexperience is no match for the strength of his determination. For the past six years, Keeler, chairman of Can-Net Telecommunications Ltd. of Willowdale, Ont., a Toronto suburb, has been battling with the country's biggest corporation, Bell Inc., the Montreal-based parent of the telephone company Bell Canada. (Declared the stocky 50-year-old former Israeli soldier, "I decided I wasn't going to be squashed by a monopoly that didn't want anyone trading on its turf.") Last week, Keeler's dogged persistence paid off. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission announced that the long-distance telephone market will be thrown open to competition from Keeler's company and all others that can meet the qualifications.

Around a year after the commission completed its longest and most comprehensive hearing on its history, the CRTC announced an end to the country's telephone monopolies' almost total monopoly on long-distance telephone service. In a decision that the CRTC predicts will result in a significant drop in the cost of long-distance telephone calls, the applicants of both United Artists and Keeler's company were given the go-ahead to compete with Bell Canada. United is a Toronto-based telecommunications company, 60 per cent owned by Canadian Pacific Ltd. of Montreal and 40 per cent by Rogers Communications Ltd. of Toronto, a cable television company. Keeler is a joint venture by B.C. Rail and Lakeland, a subsidiary of Keeler's Can-Net. Bell CRTC chairman Keith Spence said the CRTC expects competition to have a significant im-

pact on rates—it will bring them down." But as CRTC commissioner, Edward Rowe, observed at the commission's decision, saying that he feared it could result in an increase in the cost of local rates. Said Rowe: "I consider the cost of offering these applications to be too high because of the increases in the cost of local telephone service, something that is a necessity, not a luxury, to Canadians, including the millions of Canadians living on pension or fixed incomes."

United had proposed to cut its long-distance rates 15 per cent lower than the rates set earlier by the telephone companies. But in the past three years, since United made its request in the long-distance telephone market known, some of the regional companies have lowered their long-distance rates significantly in anticipation of increased competition. In light of that preparation, it is not clear whether United will be able to both meet that commitment to lower rates and remain financially viable. Said United senior vice-president Richard Steinberg: "It is an excellent decision for us, for the Canadian consumer and for the business community." He added that the 15-per-cent rate is "within our range." United expects to begin offering long-distance service in about a year.

**Keeler: a six-year battle because 'I decided I wasn't going to be squashed'**



**Bell operations center: residential users may lose**

The CRTC's decision to encourage telephone competition will have a profound impact on several groups. While residential telephone users, for their part, already have access to high-quality service at relatively moderate prices, business users, particularly those with sophisticated telecommunications needs, may see improvements in the speed with which they give innovative services and internationally competitive prices. And the telecommunications industry itself, which has traditionally been one of Canada's competitive strengths in the global marketplace but which has been losing ground in recent years to other countries, including the United States, will be open to competition at home for the first time.

Residential telephone users have the least to gain—and, according to some critics, the most to lose—from the CRTC's decision. Although they do not need the best of sophisticated services that business users want, they face additional costs. Bell Canada has warned that it will be forced to increase local telephone rates if it loses revenue from its long-distance operations. Bell Canada chairman Raymond Cyr has said that Bell estimates local rates by \$1.8 billion a year. Said Cyr: "As you reduce the total contribution that has to be paid for by somebody, And that's the consumer." Bell representatives of the Consumers' Association of Canada say that "there are valid technological or economic reasons for local rates to rise with the advent of competition." A consumer's association representative said that long-distance competition will likely encourage business users to use residential users make several long-distance calls each month and, as a result, will benefit from the lower costs that competition is expected to bring. However, analysts say that the new responses on competition could encourage the telephone companies to be more market-oriented and less concerned with their mandate as monopolies to provide equal access to the system for all users. If that were to happen, private users might find that the phone companies ignore their interests as they shift their attention to the needs of business users.

Also, as in more market-oriented environments, small users may no longer be able to depend on the CRTC to protect their interests. The final disadvantage for consumers is the time and attention they will have to devote to shopping for telephone services. In the United States, the advent of long-distance competition

gave consumers sleep choices, but it also created enormous complexity and confusion, particularly in the early days. Victims in the United States are still dismayed by the difficulties of placing a long-distance call on a public telephone. And it is common for residential users to receive bills from two or more telephone companies each month.

By contrast, Canadian business users are the big winners from the decision. Many businesses, including almost all of the country's largest corporations, rely as heavily on telecommunications services that those costs now rank as the third-biggest business expense, after buildings and employee costs. The Royal Bank of Canada, the country's largest corporate telecommunications user, pays \$160 million a year for services that include everything from renting telephones to Internet access. The bank is the life-support

system of its automated order-caller network that the bank compares, not compared with its competitors in the United States, it has fewer telecommunications services to choose from and has to pay more for what it does get. Royal Bank chairman Andrew Taylor has said the cost of leasing special data-transmission lines from Toronto to New York City through Bell's N.Y. For the U.S. leg of the network, a distance of about 540 km, the bank now pays \$4,500 a month. For the Toronto-Pacific line, one fifth the distance, it pays \$1,500 a month.

Many Canadians take pride in being at the cutting edge of telecommunications technology. But experts say that the industry is gradually losing its lead as other countries put their own companies on by encouraging competition. "We Canadians should be proud of what we have achieved in the past," said Montgomery Richardson, head of a business lobby group called Communications Competition Coalition. "The phone was invented here. We made the first long-distance telephone call. We put up the first domestic satellite system, the first coast-to-coast microwave system, the first perage-switch network." But Richardson added: "Our first suggestion about 1905. We have not been innovative since that time. We have become world followers, not leaders. Furthermore, we have not given services as fast and the American is widening at a horrendous pace. But somehow we're still living on what we did in the past." With its latest decision, the CRTC is punishing that Canada can take a big step towards the future.

**BRUNDA DALGLISH with GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa**

## Business Notes

### ONE FOR CANADA

Canada was a critical trade battle when a Montreal, Canada U.S. Free Trade Agreement (gave) resulted in a maximum 5-to-6 discount over disputed interest costs. The point was that CMC American Inc. of Ingersoll, Ont., may include non-mortgage interest costs in financing the North American contract of Canadian-built ships. U.S. officials had insisted that only mortgage interest be counted.

### GST PANDEMONIUM

About 340,000 businesses in Canada, or 20 per cent of the 1.7 million companies registered to collect the GST, have broken the law by not filing returns. Government and business spokesmen attributed the figure to a combination of deliberate tax cheats, a tax revolt and confusion on the part of those who must fill out the forms.

### BOTTOMS UP

Lakeland Enterprises, the Sturgeon division of John Lakeland Ltd. of London, Ont., announced that it has created Maple Leaf Ltd. with British beer retailer Pemberton Ltd. No stock and less than 1,000 jobs. Terms of the deal were not announced.

### GLOOM AT THE CORNER STORE

Newsweek, Out-Store, Shogun Ltd., Newsprint, and other companies operate across Canada, including Merit, La Maison and Hudson's Bay. For years, stores, that for bankruptcy protection from its creditors. The company, which will close some unprofitable locations, has to file a restructuring plan by July 15.

### A WELCOME FREEZE

Three of Canada's largest banks—the Royal Bank, Bank of Montreal and Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—said that they have frozen interest charges on all listed personal and business banking lines for periods ranging up to Jan. 2, 1995. A spokesman for the Royal said that the bank wants to dispel the idea that it is making up for losses by big business loans at the expense of small businesses and consumers through increased service prices.

### FRONT-PAGE PROBLEMS

About 1,800 married employees at Canada's largest television newspaper, The Toronto Star, who have been without a contract since December, went on strike to support their demands for wage increases and greater job security. Managers and other non-strike staff continued to put out the paper, which was about half its normal size.

# 'Blood on the streets'

*A mercurial financier returns from the jungle*

**T**he wood-paneled reception area of the Ontario Corp. Ltd. in Toronto is crisscrossed with faded leather sofas, gold-trimmed armchairs, Persian carpets—and so extensive collections of books. The display of

second because of lagging profits between Ontario and some of its major subsidiaries, who are also the company's major shareholders. Both Minors and Ondaire say they can make LOM a profitable venture by applying



Ondaire: "The speculators have been cleared out."

its tax loss against future earnings. For the year ended March 31, 1993, the loss hit \$8 million.

When Ondaire started out in 1986, after his partners rejected his offer to acquire control of the company at \$22.4 a share, five then-regional subsidiaries. Although he had a reputation as a brilliant stock-picker, his 18-year stint with the firm, Ondaire was frequently described as temperamental and idiosyncratic. In addition to his facinations with leopards, fortune-tellers and the number 8, Ondaire also dabbled in what included using LOM's broker number, 44, at his own Toronto telephone number.

He now acknowledges that he got "pretty lonely" with the success of LOM and that of his two management companies, Papageno Corp. and Incorporated Papageno Corp. But he also blames his popularity at LOM on his high standards, especially for money managers. "They are undertrained now because they have used capital in ways I never would have allowed," he said. For his part, LOM chairman Charles Lowenstein acknowledges that "certainly, some things need doing around the corporation." Added Lowenstein: "The top analysts, traders and advisors in this business are price driven and Ondaire was always a super price driver. Sometimes price drives doing it like the contract and close frequent proximity of a super price doesn't—so all we have anything but respect for his ability to make money."

Certainly, LOM employees had cause for concern last year when, after a whirlwind courtship, Ondaire joined the company at the altar, walking away from a proposed \$30-million cash infusion. It was not the first time that he has abruptly changed his course. In 1989, just one month after selling Papageno in Toronto, Lowenstein bank firm International Bancorp Inc. and signing on as chief executive officer, he also left publicly with no close-tie group of managers. At the same time, he managed the Canadian publishing sector by turning over his recent acquisition, publisher Lester & Orpen Denton Ltd., to Hess, which closed down the company.

Despite Ondaire's controversial corporate record, Lowenstein said he is convinced of his "passionate regard and sincere dedication" to the task of revitalizing LOM this time around. Lowenstein also believes that Ondaire's last warms as a turnaround Canadian, which requires him to be always from the country for six months of the year, may pose a leadership problem. In the past, Ondaire has asked that time between his last-estimates be between him and England with his wife, Valda. Although Ondaire has not specified what his role will be at LOM if his bid succeeds, Lowenstein said that "it'll be open control of the company, he determines his role."

While LOM struggles to come to terms with its future, the betting on Ondaire's return to LOM's talent for making money will ultimately convince investors of the southern of his judgments. Self-made investment advisory success, on condition of anonymity. "There may be a lot of talking about his return, but the bottom line is, if you can't make money, you're not an investor, and others, people will always find it hard to believe you." Added with that reputation, there seems little doubt that Ondaire will succeed again.

DEBORAH MCLEURY

## BUSINESS WATCH



# Facing the civil war we never had

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**A**s the constitutional crisis heats up again, the prospect of a national referendum looms almost certain. But this bill, it could be the civil war we never had, an intensely fought confrontation between opposing views of Canada's destiny, bitterly debated across the country, with a winner-take-all climax on voting day. The experience promises to be unrelenting and unambiguously Canadian. As a people, we have always shied away from transatlantic public confrontations, resorting to compromise and bickering through. This would be radically different, requiring each of us personally to get off the fence and cast a vote for or against specific and contrary visions of our future. That future would be decided as votes are tallied in one dramatic night.

Brian Mulroney, sponsor of the referendum legislation, insists pointing out that such a poll would only be "referendum in spirit" because the country's Constitution cannot legally be amended by the results of a referendum. But since the people have spoken, they can't be ignored. The politicians may not be legally bound to follow the results of the referendum, but to legislate in any contrary way would amount to political suicide. Canada will, literally, become a different country the day of the referendum vote.

Referendums are a rare phenomenon in our history, not easily fitted into Canada's parliamentary traditions. Only twice before, in 1898 over Prohibition and in 1942 over conscription, have Canadians voted in national plebiscites. Mulroney proved earthshaking because the issues on which they were held were so specific and the results were appropriately stunning. This we will be different.

Whether we actually have a referendum this fall will depend on the success or failure of the current talks, but to commence a political aspect, such a vote would have to be held before Quebec's own referendum, due on Oct. 30. Since it takes a minimum of three months to prepare for a federal referendum, because of

*Canada will be a new country the day of the referendum. Once the people have spoken, they can't be ignored.*

the lengthy consultation process, the decision to hold it will have to come by the end of July. That campaign could well last 36 days, about half as long as a general election.

That timeline is complicated by Quebec's own referendum requirements. Under the province's legislation, the actual referendum question must be debated by the National Assembly for a minimum of 30 hours, which, if the 1995 referendum schedule is followed, translates into about three weeks of sitting time. The referendum vote cannot be held less than 20 days after the resolution is adopted. That's followed by the actual campaign, lasting from 47 to 64 days. Assuming the longer period, the campaign would have to start on Sept. 2, and the National Assembly would have to approve the question by Aug. 11, which in turn would require the referendum resolution to be taken in the Quebec house by July 27—about the same time Ottawa needs to make its own referendum decision.

That daunting schedule doesn't end there. Brian Mulroney also has active referendum legislation on his books and any constitutional bill will have to be approved by a plebiscite there. A plebiscite approval vote would be binding on Mulroney's government.

even if, as appears likely, the results are not to the province's liking. Alberta has similar legislation in the process of being adopted, with the most likely scenario that a referendum will be held simultaneously with province-wide municipal elections on Oct. 19. Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, Saskatchewan and the Yukon and Northwest Territories also have referendum legislation afoot, but are less committed to holding votes. Constitutional amendments in Manitoba require a 59-day debate in the legislative assembly where Elgin Harper could lead the Meech Lake accord last time around and could do so again as well as open-ended public hearings.

Ultimately, referendums have not been widely used by democratic governments around the world, but when they are, the results have far more impact than the opposing governments expected. The voters often used the occasion to reject the reform of the institution of government. In the case of the Quebec referendum, the results have already been used to address extraordinary political or constitutional issues, resolving some constitutional issues of government, such as in France (1946 and 1962). They have also been used to influence the operation of other institutions. The 1979 vote on the split between Greenland and Denmark Denmark ended the north decided by a slim referendum margin to stay out of Europe's political and monetary union.

Four European countries held referendums to determine their membership in the European Common Market during the early 1970s. Interestingly, as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, all three nations' citizens opted to stay in the union, with 16 million campaigning for the 1972 and seven against. Only two demonstrations, the United States, Germany, Japan and the Netherlands, have never held plebiscites. In Australia, constitutional amendments must be ratified by a double majority—a national vote and at least four of its six states—but since 1960, only eight of 42 suggested changes have been approved. The most referendum-happy democracy is Sweden, where 100% of the national plebiscites have been held this century. Federal legislation is subject to ratification by a referendum of only 50,000 citizens, or less than one per cent of the population, request vote.

In Canada's case, the referendum decision will be the result of a referendum vote, a question that will be decided by the referendum vote. And party parliamentary members will come up with the vote, but parliamentary debate on the final bill has been limited to eight days. The choice will be between two main alternatives, going the long way or the short way, simply asking the voters to approve the constitutional package negotiated by the provinces and aboriginals over the past six months, or a shorter, more gradual approach asking whether the negotiated constitutional proposals should become the basis for completing the package of the Constitution.

It's a difficult decision, but the second choice, more concerned with process, would leave Quebec in a happier place. The real issue is whether the future of this country should be put up for grabs as a sudden-death vote. The voters are too high to reward the risk.

# THE GRADUATES: OUT OF SCHOOL OUT OF WORK

**IN THE RECESSION  
A UNIVERSITY  
DEGREE IS LITTLE  
HELP IN GETTING  
A GOOD JOB**

Obtaining a university degree has become a rite of passage for many Canadians, an achievement that is widely viewed as a badge of intellectual achievement, as well as the key to a satisfying and successful career. But this spring's graduates are gathering for commencement ceremonies across the country this month, many express deep concerns about their futures. As 35-year-old psychology major Cindy McNulty-Koulinisky found her pictures with her husband and children on the grass lawn of the University of Toronto earlier this month, she said that she held out little hope of finding work as her field. Another U of T graduate, Joel Rasmussen, 25, said that his degree in computer science so far has yielded no job offers, despite dozens of applications and telephone calls. A third, geography major Edward Boley, 26, has sent out 70 applications in a so-far-futile search for a job in various planning. "I left a message requesting to go back to school, and it was tough to grow up the money," said Boley. "Now they're laying off people with master's degrees."

Indeed, many of Canada's 150,000 new graduates can empathize with that frustra-

tion—and the reasons for it (page 44). While the current crop of graduates was busy completing their degrees, Canadian economy went into a tailspin. As a result, plenty of businesses continue to close or reduce staff, and this year's graduates must compete not only among themselves but also with thousands of experienced, laid-off workers. In some areas, the hiring of new graduates is down by between 30 and 25 per cent this year, with some sharper

declines reported at some of the country's largest companies. But university placement officers across the country offer some solace: they say that many graduates will eventually find jobs with small and medium-sized firms. Still, they also acknowledge that large numbers will be underemployed—doing work that uses only a narrow range of their abilities. Said Tom McLaughlin, manager of the placement centre at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C.: "Chances are the best job a student gets out of school will not be career-related."

Frustrated and disheartened, many graduates say that they feel worn out by the struggle to find a job. Said Louis Orme, who graduated from the University of Montreal in 1988 with a bachelor's degree in industrial relations and who has been looking for a job in his field since March, 1990: "I've been working with my arms crossed all my head and to survive. I haven't given up hope of finding something. But I have to admit that it's very disappointing at times." For that group, statistics at Canada's largest corporations are compelling that they cannot always find qualified applicants, partly because of inadequate training at the university level. They say that many graduates lack even basic skills in oral and written presentation, arithmetic, logic and analytical thinking. As a result, members of both groups are calling for changes in the typical university curriculum. But university officials steadfastly defend the quality of the education they provide, noting that university graduates consistently have the lowest rate of unemployment in the country. In 1991, it reached 4.9 per cent up from 3.7 per cent the previous year, but still well below the rate of the general population. Noted Claude Laprise, president of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada: "It may take longer or the past, but un-



Commencement at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver; frustration and gloom among members of the class of '92

iversity graduates have a better chance of finding a job than people with less education."

Orme, still, the conventional wisdom on campuses is that by obtaining a degree—which can be both expensive and grueling—students will accomplish more than merely making themselves employable. Many expect they advanced training to catapult them into good, well-paying jobs. But growing evidence suggests that the route to the fast track is getting longer and is often fraught with unexpected obstacles. Students, say placement officers, need to retool their expectations downward. Said McLaughlin: "Most students are not at all realistic about their prospects. They have a dream job in mind, and they don't like writing for less."

Even more pessimistic, perhaps, is the belief of many students to plan for the future before their first year in university. For them, the pursuit of grades, an active social life or participation in many sports can be consuming passions. But while teachers and even employers agree that having fun still has its place in university life, many are now warning that students cannot afford to postpone the job hunt until the last moment. "It's scary how many students come to us at the last minute and ask what they can do for the rest of their lives," said Bruce McCaffan, associate director of the counselling and student resources centre at the University of Guelph in Ontario. "They should work as if from first year."

By the time they graduate, however, most university students appreciate only too well the

difficulties that await them. This year, several large corporations were conspicuously absent at campus recruiting drives, while others hired only a fraction of their usual numbers. Citing low turnover and sluggish business conditions, Royal Bank of Canada officials hired fewer than 200 new graduates this spring, down from a 1989 high of about 600. IBM Canada Ltd., which has hired only 37 per cent over the past 16 months, drastically reduced the number of graduates it hired, and the new recruits are mostly highly qualified specialists such as doctors or computer science.

The vast majority of graduates who fail to obtain such positions, experts say, can expect a protracted job hunt, which may extend to a year or more for career-related work. Indeed, as research suggests that graduate entry into the workforce may become the norm for most graduates. A two-year study conducted by the University of Alberta sociologists revealed that the school-to-work transition was a prolonged process for a group of 709 graduates. From three universities who were tracked between 1985 and 1989, instead of a quick transition from school to work, graduates in Edmonton, Toronto and St. Catharines, Ont., experienced periods of unemployment—often at low-paying jobs—with more years of searching, before settling into a long-term career.

**Dilett:** The study, in which questionnaires from a random sample of graduates were analyzed, also revealed a fundamental shift in attitudes. As a result of their experiences, most participants ultimately abandoned their belief

that higher education entitles an individual to a good job. And some of the participants concluded instead that a degree is merely a prerequisite for access to better jobs, with individual effort distinguishing those who will eventually land such positions. Said Harvey Keefe, a sociology professor who worked on the study: "This was a process of watching people grow up and become adults."

For many people, part of growing up apparently includes going back to school. Between 1984 and 1991, enrolment at Canadian universities rose annually by three per cent, partly as a result of many students returning to school. That option often falls to those at once. Students can increase their employability by adding professional training to a general degree. At the same time, they need decelerating periods of unemployment by postponing the job search until economic conditions improve. Asa O'Shott, who graduated from Saint Mary's University in Halifax with a BA in English, has been accepted into the university's bachelor of education program next year. "You may as well have to go on underdog now," said O'Shott. One of 45 students out of 600 applicants to win a place. "Some people think they are owed a job after university, but they learn the hard way that's not the case."

In fact, many graduates are learning that traditional routes to a job, such as seeking out referrals and answering advertisements, are unlikely to yield results. Instead, they are using unconventional techniques to attract an employer's attention. After six years of studying



"I know someone my age who works at a pulp-and-paper mill and is making \$40,000. I won't make that for at least five years—if I'm lucky."

—Jeffrey Smith, 23, business bachelor of business administration, Simon Fraser University; unemployed despite an impressive job search.

for her master of business administration degree in both part time and full time. Barbara Colwell, 33, graduated from Saint Mary's this year with an A average. While she studied, she also ran a household that includes her husband, James, and three children, aged 4, 7 and 9. But it was Colwell's recommendations, not grades, that finally landed her a job. She accepted a company she wanted to work for. Then, she landed a short-term assignment from the firm. The results were so impressive that the company decided to hire her full-time. Says Colwell: "It's a hidden job market. You can only find job opportunities by talking to people. In my case, there wasn't even an opening. It was created for me."

But sometimes, even a mountain of essays and enthusiasm is not enough. At 23, Jeffrey Seidman has just completed a five-year honors bachelor of business administration program at Simon Fraser, with work experience gained in the university's co-op program and a B+ average. But he says that an aggressive job search has so far failed to yield results.

**Factor:** It is certainly not for lack of trying. Seidman has visited several large insurance companies in the Vancouver area, as well as such consumer-products companies as Nestle Enterprises Ltd., Campbell Soup Co. Ltd. and General Mills Canada Inc. However, he says that he would prefer not to take a sales job, and is trying instead for a position in marketing and management with a large firm. Seidman says that he is eager to leave out of his parents' Vancouver home, where he lived throughout university, but he is beginning to question the value of his degree. He adds: "I have sat around my age who works at a polyprint-paper mill and is making \$44,000. I won't make that for at least five years, if I'm lucky. And I have a lot of friends who have even less enviable degrees, like history."

Indeed, many graduates in the liberal arts are exploring more unconventional options. Murray Goodman, graduated from Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., this spring with a three-year degree in English. Although the 33-year-old Whitty, Ont., resident says that she hopes to work in book publishing some day, she has not even begun to look for a job at that point. Her plans include a year in Japan, as option, she says, that will help give her the kind of worldly experience she needs to eventually land a publishing job in Canada. "I realize I can't just walk into the land of job that I may be doing for the next 20 or 24 years," she admits. Goodman says that so far, she sees little correspondence between the education she received and the skills she needs to land a job. Although she views the experience as worthwhile, she said that she might have considered a community college program or the fact to make the choice again. Said Goodman: "The college are now offering more reality

good programs in areas like publishing."

Many employers, too, apparently believe that university graduates are not ready for the workplace. Last month, executives from 25 leading Canadian companies, including the Royal Bank of Canada, Bell Canada and Imperial Oil Ltd., published a list of skills that they say graduates seek. The Corporate Council on Education, a committee of the Ottawa-based Conference Board of Canada, cited such general skills as oral and written communication, critical thinking and flexibility as keys to employability. It did not call for more specific job training by universities. Said James Gordon, a council chairman and a vice-president



PHOTO COURTESY OF SIMON FRASER

**"I realize I can't just walk into the kind of job that I may be doing for the next 20 or 30 years."**

**—Murray Goodman, 23, BA in English, Queen's University plans to teach English in Japan to get work experience.**

dent at the Royal Bank. "The nature of work is changing at an accelerating rate. Signifiers of what specific skills they came to with, employers need to know how to work in teams and focus on the task," Tom Davies, manager of recruitment for Citicore, put it even more strongly. "Adaptability is it," declared Davies. "We look for experience in working with others and we notice that graduates often lack those skills. Sometimes, they get too much emphasis on what they have done as individuals, and that could be because the education system tends to emphasize one over the other."

So far, the academic community's response has been mixed. William Seywell, president of

Simon Fraser University, said that many corporate recruiters focus too narrowly on specific degrees. "If they were more willing to take on a general science or arts graduate, I don't think they would be so concerned," he said. He also lauds Simon Fraser's co-op program, in which about 10 per cent of the university's students work for as many as four terms in career-related jobs. Vancouver employers "crave" about such graduates, Seywell says. But he acknowledges that "everything is not as it should be." Seywell predicts that in the future, universities will give more weight to programs that link academic training with skills related to the workplace, such as past programs with community colleges.

A new university in British Columbia will feed the demand for a closer relationship between jobs and degrees. In the fall of 1994, the province will open a university in which almost every course will have a co-op element. Geoffrey Whiter, president of the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George, said that the new institution will emphasize putting "academic theory into practice." English students, for example, may be placed in publishing firms, while political science students might work for federal or provincial ministries.

**Focus:** Like others, however, University of Toronto president Robert Priddy maintains that universities should continue to focus strongly on the theoretical and the academic. "We must remain strongly an order degree of careers," he said. Priddy: "Graduates can expect to change jobs many times in a 40-year career. The university needs to help students with lifetime learning—not just with finding their first job."

While the debate is likely to rage for some time, there is growing recognition from both sides that compromises need to be made. For the universities, it has become clear that students want—and need—better preparation for the practical demands of the workplace, including such hands-on training as working with others and adapting to constant change. For their part, many employers are acknowledging the importance of on-the-job training and the investment of time required to graduate experienced, competent employees. There is also a growing acceptance that unemployment problems stem from education. Executives such as the Royal Bank's Gordon express profound concern for the future of the country's graduates. "I hope students do not become disillusioned and give up or drop out," said Gordon. "Well-educated graduates are the key to our future. The thousands who find themselves lost in the difficult transition from school to career, that movement may be cold comfort in hard times."

**PATRICIA CIESBLOM with correspondence reports**

## **... I PLEDGE TO MAKE THE EARTH A SECURE AND HOSPITABLE HOME FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS"**

**... I PLEDGE TO MAKE THE EARTH A SECURE AND HOSPITABLE HOME FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS"**



The Earth Pledge poster, which has been the focus of much controversy. It is a signed poster by 112 signatories.

**T**HE EARTH PLEDGE IS A COMMITMENT REQUIRED BY ALL OF US TO SAVE OUR PLANET. THIS UNIVERSAL CALL WAS LAUNCHED BY THE EARTH SUMMIT '92 - OFFICIALS REPORT AS THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (UNCED), WHICH WORLD LEADERS WILL MEET IN RIO DE JANEIRO THIS JUNE. TO ENSURE HOW TO ENHANCE THE WELL-BEING OF THE EARTH'S LAND, SEA AND AIR, AND

**REINFORCE ECONOMIC GROWTH THROUGH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**

The official poster to promote the Earth Pledge has been created by renowned artist Robert Rauschenberg and donated by the Robert Rauschenberg Foundation. It is being distributed in Canada by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) of Winnipeg, Manitoba, a non-profit organization working to advance sustainable development practices. This beautiful expression of support for the goals of the Earth

Summit can be yours for only \$24.95, including shipping and handling, and GST. Call 1-800-567-3425 to order your Earth Pledge poster today. Or write, specifying the number of posters you want with an enclosed cheque for the appropriate amount, and send it with your name and address to: Earth Pledge Poster, P.O. Box 191, Station 1, Winnipeg, Manitoba R2H 1S4. Make cheque payable to Earth Pledge Poster. Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery.



Let's all put our hands together  
Take "The Pledge" today

**IISD** INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE  
FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT





parusing their master's degree at studying medicine. Very few have a job in seasons, with a drug company or as a lab tech or something like that. I have so many friends whose biggest complaint is that they send away 100 résumés and not only do they not have any interviews, they weren't even granted the courtesy of a note.

**Waise:** I actually feel more fortunate than someone who has been in their business for 20 years and has all the experience and has been booted out. And they can't get jobs either. I sometimes think that we expect a lot—we are supposed to be getting our turn, so to speak. On the other hand, I didn't put in as much time and effort and my parents didn't spend this much money for me to do nothing. I had a good liberal arts education and I am supposed to go out and do something constructive. And we are stuck here.

**Kearney:** I have some friends who have lost from McGill and they are trying to get dishwashing jobs for the summer just to make money—and they can't get those jobs. No one wants to do a dishwashing job. If they can't get those jobs and they can't get the cancer-associated type of job either, there's nothing left.

**McCallum:** A lot of us are lucky to have summer jobs, even And it's not just jobs, it's graduate school, too. Because the ones who don't have jobs are facing to graduate school to improve themselves. I know people with excellent marks, and wonderful extracurricular activities, who aren't getting into any of the graduate schools they apply to.

**McCallum:** Does that make you angry?

**Waise:** Let's say frustrated. I would be angry if I knew where to direct my anger, but without that, you're just frustrated.

**Waise:** I believe that we are seeing for other people's excesses in a lot of ways. I am just one of the casualties of the 1980s. In a lot of ways, it is a lot of blame, some of it would blame capitalism and some greed. But that's so obvious. And there really is no point in being angry, because our job is to make the best we can out of what we have.

**Waise:** I am definitely not fresh out of university to be angry at myself. There are a lot of people out there with much more experience in the workforce being laid off and having trouble getting jobs, and I think they would have more of a right to be angry.

**Waise:** The biggest problem is the amount of hyper-pointing that is going on. Everyone is pointing to blame everybody else. Government

blames big industry, or just the economy in general. Big industry is blaming the government, the small companies are blaming even the body—everyone is pointing fingers. Why aren't people just saying, "Let's do something about this?" There is so much pessimism in the marketplace that people are not wanting money anymore because they don't feel it's safe.

**Schwartz:** If you are not producing, then the economy is not really growing. It seems to me

resources. I think that the government has to start going in the number 1 national resource, that is, of course, the student, the young people who are coming up. I shouldn't say the government, I should say society as a whole should be training children properly and encouraging university graduates to use the education they got.

**Waise:** I don't want to throw a pessimistic wrench. Unfortunately, it's a tough job to try to change something. It has to be done, but is it the government's responsibility? Are they willing to stick their neck out?

**McCallum:** What government is going to get re-elected on a platform of "Well, you are going to have to take some cuts, but it will be better for your grandchildren." It is not the way our society views things, and I think the start has to come in education. I like to think that our generation is going to be more willing to accept slightly less and maybe the next generation after that slightly less than that.

**Waise:** I would like the stability of a good job and I would like to make a lot of money if I could. But I am on a career path at the moment where there aren't very good prospects, and I don't really care. I feel very lucky, actually. Even if I never get a job as a journalist, at least I have the education to do something.

**Kearney:** I guess I feel lucky, too. My life is just faded for two years, and it's just three-quarters time, and I'm not making very much money. But I think it is a wonderful job because it's what I wanted to do. I usually feel lucky because I got to be here at McGill and because I was fortunate enough to have parents who could afford it. I think that people who have been laid off after 10 or 20 years of working and have lots and lots of real responsibility have a lot more to complain about than we do.

**Schwartz:** I, too, feel very lucky to have a job. Too many people who work just complain about their work and, instead of complaining, when you see a problem, improve it.

**McCallum:** I also feel very lucky to have had the opportunity to get what I consider to be a fairly good education. A graduate has got to be willing to go out in something extra in this recession, I think, and I don't think it needs to be a negative experience. Not can work for six months and travel. As for six months. And put something like that on your résumé. If you are doing something that you believe in, you can improve yourself in very positive ways. I think, overall, it is not quite what everybody expected, but it's not a desperate situation. It



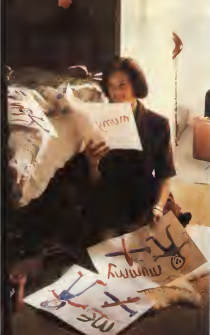
"I have so many friends whose biggest complaint is that they send away 100 résumés and not only do they not have any interviews, they weren't even granted the courtesy of a note."

—Karl Waise, B.Sc., McGill '82 unemployed

quite logical when the experts say that our economy went too far on the service side and we are not producing enough technical goods and still like that. The big jobs, the good jobs, in the future are of course in high technology. And we have to invest in them. We have the people, we have the knowledge, we have the good education system.

**McCallum:** Maybe it's a time to start changing attitudes. It is a time now when military spending in the United States has been cut by a few cents, but I think that it can be cut even more. I think that money needs to be spent creatively. The creative young work people have to be given creative things to do. In history, you can see societies that reached a point where their success was limited and they started to stagnate bad times. I am concerned that we are trying to push beyond important warning signs.

**Waise:** I think you are right. We are going to have to change our focus. One of the big problems is that our national resources are almost gone and we have to start to care



## ARRIVE HOME READY TO GO THROUGH THE FIGURES.

The art of business travel. Whether flying to a meeting or coming home, CLUB British Airways business class, knows how to help you arrive well prepared. Unhassled, thanks to attentive service along the way. Accommodated, with a daily schedule tailored to business travel needs. And, with an all-747 service to London linking Canada to our worldwide network of destinations, just where you want to be.

BRITISH AIRWAYS  
CLUB

BRITISH AIRWAYS  
The world thrives on air

# We'd like to think that the best room in the house is now in the garage.



Few rooms can match the level of comfort and elegance available in the new Ford Aerostar.

Like a redesigned interior with uncommonly comfortable seats that cradle their occupants. Enough room to seat up to 7-passengers. So the whole family can stretch out in style. And a newly designed instrument panel that puts everything where you want it. Right at your fingertips.



You'll even have the comfort that comes with peace of mind. Because every Ford Aerostar comes complete with rear anti-lock brakes, a new driver's side air bag, and a 36-month/60,000 km bumper-to-bumper warranty.

Not to mention enough torque to tow a two ton boat up to the lake. And all the way back again.

Of course it seems a shame to keep such a beautiful room in the garage. But, we're certain it won't be there for long.



**Quality is Job 1. It's working.**



Aerostar

## The World Gardens With Reader's Digest.



People worldwide are inspired by Reader's Digest books—from gardening to cooking, fitness to fiction. Millions also enjoy the music collections and home videos carrying the name made famous by the world's most

widely read magazine—Reader's Digest, in 41 editions, 17 languages. Reader's Digest is both a successful global publisher and a world leader in direct mail marketing because we plan globally—we act locally.



We make a difference in 100 million lives worldwide.



## ENVIRONMENT

# Progress in Rio

*The Earth Summit sets a cleanup agenda*

**I**t was a time for lofty sentiments. Seated at a table flanked by blue United Nations flags in a conference center 50 km west of Rio de Janeiro, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney scribbled his name in a one-sessional book last week to make Canada a signatory to the Convention on Biodiversity, a plan that the 178-nation Earth Summit had approved to preserve the world's stock of plants and animals. Addressing a crowd of U.N. and Canadian officials and journalists, Mulroney declared,

Leading the summit achievements that fueled the optimism at Agenda 21, a more than 700-page blueprint for wide-ranging environmental and economic reforms into the next century. Underlying Agenda 21 is the concept of sustainable development, which links environmentalism and economics to assuage the depletion of the world's natural resources. The conference agreed to a controversial international convention on combating the so-called global-warming phenomenon. It would stabilize

formulated at Rio, critics pointed to the absence of new money from the West to ensure that they be scrupulously.

As expected, the major Western nations, including the United States and Germany, made only vague financial commitments. Mulroney pledged \$600 million from Canada to promote sustainable development and other aid for developing nations. That included an offer to forgive \$145 million in debts owed to Canada by Latin American countries, providing that an equivalent sum of money is spent on sustainable-development or social programs by the debtor nation. But the biggest financial commitment, from Japan, fell far short of expectations. Rumored to have been considering a cash and technology contribution of as much as \$14 billion, Japan at the end announced only \$8.4 billion over a five-year period, including a large component coming from foreign programs. Sen. Wendell Ford, during a press conference of biodiversity, the developed nations' commitment. "We are disappointed. We would have expected a conference such as this that

Japan would have been more forthcoming."

Last week's sessions featured appearances by more than 100 national leaders. With so many heads of government and state on hand for the closing stages, Rio took on the appearance of a city under martial law. More than 25,000 troops and police, many armed with automatic weapons and fired weapons, patrolled the streets and the newly constructed coastal highway that runs from downtown Rio to the conference complex outside the city. Soldiers manned the gun turrets of armored vehicles at strategic points. Security was particularly heavy in the area of the Shantou Hotel, headquarters for most members of the U.S. delegation, including President George Bush, during his 26-hour visit to Rio.

Bush's appearance was particularly controversial among participants in the Global Forum, a massive gathering of environmentalists, religious groups and other nongovernmental organizations held in conjunction with the summit. Even before Bush's arrival, demonstrators from the Global Forum protested against Washington's inactivity on weakening the commitment to climate change and Bush's refusal to have the United States join the biodiversity convention. The Bush visit was "unwelcome," he rebuffed the United States' environmental record and, after announcing that he had just signed the climate-change convention, he proposed that the industrialized nations there before him, join a dozen plans for carrying out the terms. Declaring Bush, "The United States will carry out the promises of Rio."

With a 90-member delegation under Chertoff, Canada played a prominent role in the summit. Mulroney was the first leader of an industrialized nation to pledge his support for the biodiversity treaty. Asked why he was deferring with Bush on the issue, Mulroney told



Bush among the Earth Pledgers: a plan to monitor oceans, but a shortage of money

"This is not a time in the history of the environment to retreat, but a time to test what we can achieve together." Environment Minister Jean Chertoff, speaking at the conference's plenary session a few minutes later, noted that the people of the world would "hold us accountable for the commitments made at Rio."

In fact, there is no legal magic, only moral suasion, behind the standards set by Agenda 21. To add some muscle, the conference agreed to have the United Nations establish a new body, called the Sustainable Development Commission, to monitor the progress of Agenda 21. It will report on individual nations' progress in programs to, among other things, combat poverty, provide clean water in the Third World, protect the oceans and seas from pollution and tighten the rules for the disposal of toxic chemicals. As for the global-warming program and other far-reaching plans



## ENVIRONMENT

reporters that "we do not subcontract our rights and responsibilities to the United States." Canada's position was praised from conference experts who said later that it helped rally support from such underdeveloped nations as Germany and Great Britain and saved the conference from defeat.

Canadians were also deeply involved in a protracted battle over a proposed statement of principles on forestry. With Canada increasingly coming under attack from environmentalists for its forestry practices, federal officials used the Ottawa meeting as a nationally televised test of forest principles by which the country's performance could be measured. But representatives of several developing countries, including Malaysia and India, strongly opposed the proposed statement because, they said, it represented an intrusion into their domestic affairs. In the end, delegates could not agree on a forestry treaty and agreed only to draft a set of nonbinding principles to protect the world's forests.

But the cost of environmental reform was the toughest negotiating point. In the closing days of the conference, negotiators worked late into the night in search of agreement on a complex package of financial arrangements. From the start, developing nations accused that if the wealthy industrialized nations wanted poorer countries to improve their environmental performance, the developed nations—which consume most of the world's resources—would have to help pay the bills. As well as financial help, the poorer nations wanted access to the latest technology on environmental issues, a proposal that the United States, Canada and some other industrialized countries opposed.

Officials in the secretariat of the Earth Summit's secretary general, Canadian Maurice Strong, estimated that about \$150 billion is needed from industrialized countries to be needed to finance the far-ranging programs proposed under Agenda 21. But the official refused point-blank to provide financing on that scale, a part because of suspicion that corrupt officials would take much of it. Said a Canadian official: "The Third World people were saying 'Just write the checks and we'll decide how to spend the money,' but the developed countries were saying, 'No way.'"

For their part, Third World nations demanded that the rich countries agree to increase foreign aid contributions to 0.7 per cent of gross national product by the year 2000. Canada, which has made about 0.46 per cent of GNP, or \$5 billion, for foreign aid annually, proposed raising its contribution to 0.67 per cent at some unspecified point in the future. Meanwhile, there was widespread speculation that Japan committed less than anticipated to support the conference program. According to some experts on Japanese affairs, Tokyo was taking into account the fact that the United States was badly affected at Rio because of its steel and car, emissions and the biodiversity treaty. Japan, those experts said, may have been reluctant to embarrass Washington further by causing a large contribution that the United States could not match.

Looking beyond Rio, Agenda 21's obligatory nations will be urged to carry out "country studies," environmental inventories similar to Canada's Green Plan. The UN's Sustainable Development Commission will also monitor their performance in fulfilling the requirements of Agenda 21. "I think that we will see

## Children signing Canada's Earth Day flag in Rio: \$150 billion in aid needed

this thing happening very quickly," said Arthur Hansen, a former professor of environmental studies at Balliol's Dalhousie University, who is now president of the Winnipeg-based International Institute for Sustainable Development. Hansen said that his "environmentalist" nation, partly headed by Ottawa and the Manitoba government, is planning a major international conference in Winnipeg as the first anniversary of the Rio conference to review progress on putting sustainable-development principles into practice around the world. Said Hansen: "I hope that Rio will eventually lead to a new set of relationships among nations, a sense that environmental and economic issues and the well-being of peoples are closely related."

Even the skeptical-sounding Ingeborg Jeanne Perreault, executive director of the Toronto-based environmental organization Pollution Probe: "This conference has not acted as the anteroom of the conference, but as the anteroom of the status quo." But she added that the aid and achievement of the conference by the fact that, as the agenda of secretary general Strong, many nations showed environmentalists, business representatives, church groups and other so-called non-governmental organizations to play a central role in the post-Rio era, said Perreault, environmental organizations will join the Sustainable Development Commission in keeping pressure on national governments to live up to the commitments made under Agenda 21. But even after Rio, those governments are without the critical element to make all cleanup programs work—money.

MARK MICHAELS in Rio de Janeiro

# A day in the life

## Maurice Strong set a fast pace at Rio

From the time he rose at 14 and left his home in Oak Lake, Man., 50 miles west of Brandon, Maurice Strong has been busy. He's been a merchant seaman and operator for a radio searchlight and an electronics technician. He's also been a model of a man who has lived with the world as it is, not as it should be.

At the age of 62, he organized the historic global conference on the environment in Rio de Janeiro from June 3 to 14. Last week, Maurice's Department Editor Mark Michaels followed Strong through a busy morning at his apartment behind the summit as the conference began its first day of work.

8:00: Strong arrived in his office near the meeting hall at Rio de Janeiro, a conference complex 60 km west of Rio. He meets with Mimi Drexler, the Rio-based diplomat who serves as deputy UN secretary general and the link between Strong and the various groups in the conference.

8:30: Accompanied by a valet, Strong enters the UN security office of the UN security office. Strong meets with about 65 staff members for the daily morning briefing. One staffer reports that two officials from non-aligned countries spent most of the previous day arguing over a single sentence of the more than 700-page Agenda 21, the proposed blueprint for an environmental action plan. Strong says that the two officials "were like two kids who were going to the same law school together."

10:10: After attending another routine meeting and running several errands, Strong slips into one of the main conference halls, where speakers representing the 170 nations officially participating in the conference are making statements about their hopes for the conference. Strong appears in his own carefully, but acknowledges later that, because he knows private aspects of all the speeches, he does not have to pay attention in the hall. Instead, he uses the time to study his notes or read material from his list and scribble notes to various officials.

11:45: Strong meets with the Costa Rican minister of natural resources, Berta Echeverri.

Strong attends a news briefing to express his support for the Earth Probe, an

UNESCO-backed campaign to have everyone on the world sign a statement declaring, "I pledge to make the Earth a secure and hospitable home for present and future generations." 12:30 p.m.: Strong and senior Brazilian officials discuss the massive security arrangements to protect more than 100 heads of state and government attending the conference's summit phase.



People (left), Turner and Strong: pressure to make the Earth Summit successful

1:15: Strong attends a working lunch with a group of senior officials.

3:30 p.m.: Entering the crowded central area of Rio de Janeiro, Strong greets a friend, Ted Turner, owner of Atlanta-based CNN, and his wife, actress Jane Fonda. Surrounded by uniformed and plainclothes guards, and a crowd of reporters, cameramen and photographers, Strong, Turner and Fonda sign a green copy of the Earth Pledge eventful became a welcome, and pose for the cameras.

3:30: Strong tells Michaels that he is concentrating on finding financing for the conference. He's been talking to the Japanese prime minister Noboru Takeshita, his ally and financial adviser in Japan, he says, adding, "What I am always trying to do is get the Japanese to announce a major financial contribution" that there is a problem. Strong explains: The Japanese leaders have not fully agreed among themselves in what they want to do, and the

Japanese prefer not to make any announcements before a consensus has been reached. Says Strong: "I have frankly made a plea in Takeshita and other Japanese officials to try to make an exception in this case." Four days later, the Japanese commit up to \$10 billion to environmental programs.

4:45: Back at his office, Strong is told of an incident at Rio de Janeiro. A male reporter and a woman photographer have been accused of sexual harassment with UN security guards who confiscated their press credentials. The incident has resulted in a city road among journalists who gather near Strong's office.

4:45: Advised of the possibility of a backlash from angry journalists, Strong surreptitiously leaves the building by a back door. He gets into a UN car for a short drive to another part of the building where he introduces Turner to a

panel discussion on the media's role in highlighting awareness of environmental issues.

5:00: Strong meets with the prime minister of Sri Lanka, J.R. Jayewardene.

The official meetings area for the day, Strong attends a reception at the UN to honor significant individuals in the conference, including American actor Robert Redford, who has offered one of his works to be used as a poster to promote the Earth Probe. Back at his modest hotel room, a 15-minute drive from the conference center, by 9:30 p.m., Strong catches up on his paperwork at his cluttered desk. "We're not all here," he reflects, considering the conference's goal of shifting the world onto a new pathway to preserve the environment and eradicate poverty. "But we can begin to put in place the measures needed to make that shift happen." Then, he turns in a sleep of moments and dreams about his late-night afternoon.



## FILMS

# Batman's return

Hollywood launches a blockbuster sequel

Will before its opening this week on nearly 3,000 screens across North America, it seemed to be a foregone conclusion that *Batman Returns* would be the hottest movie of the summer. The original *Batman* (1989) earned \$475 million and generated a merchandise frenzy. Now, a fresh line of bat paraphernalia is flooding the market—hundreds of items ranging from T-shirts to sleeping bags. An array of corporations, from McDonald's to Coca-Cola, has leashed massive promotional campaigns tied to the sequel. And, buried unassuming, beneath all the marketing, there is a movie.

Michael Keaton is back on screen as the Dark Knight, wearing through a new and improved bat mask, remodelled to mimic the default contours of his eyebrows. And replacing Jack Nicholson's Joker, who so completely dominated the first movie, are three new villains: Crocman (Michelle Pfeiffer), a scary

domestic in a black rubber bodysuit who leaves her way across a highway, the Penguin (Diane DeWitt), a dirty old mutant gang boss who ascends from the sewers, and a new tyrant named Man Shreck (Christopher Walken), who is plotting world domination.

Despite the movie's massive scale, and its \$66-million production budget, it breaks the pattern of most summer blockbusters. For one thing, it takes place at Christmastime, in a snow-frosted Gotham City. Keaton's *Batman* remains genuinely quaint and idiosyncratic, more authentic than sequels. And although the action features the symbolic language of exploitation and special effects, the sequel, like the original, is above all a spectacle of visual design—an opulent costume drama lensed by a director who worships television.

Tim Burton, a 33-year-old former animator, has displayed a consistent flair for injecting his taste into the commercial mainstream. His

*Beetlejuice* (1988), *Dr. Strangelove* (1968) and special effects

characters have included the squably-seized clown of *Polsera's Big Adventure* (1985), the cackling genie of *Jackie Brown* (1988) and the hedge-clipping dachshund of *Edward Scissorhands* (1990). And with the *Batman* movies, Burton has tried to envision the dark room of the comic-book hero through the artist Bob Kane in 1939. Said Pfeiffer, interviewed at a recent movie launch for *Batman Returns* at a recent movie launch for *Batman Returns* at a

In fact, *Batman Returns* is lighter, funnier and less nihilistic than the first film. The script, by David Waters, who wrote *Heavenly Creatures* (1994), is a black comedy about teenage sexuality, is riddled with one-liners. Gotham City is again a nightmare of urban chaos, but with softer edges. There are some scenes of police brutality, but nothing as ugly as the Joker's vicious degradation of his wife, or his tauntingly spirit through an art museum. And unlike *Kiss Bang Bang*, who served as a weekly scripted sex object in the original, Pfeiffer goes to play a multiple personality who finds some liberation in a cat suit—"she asks the answer. Her character starts out as a victim, secretary named Selma Shreck, her boss, in planning a power project to get in on the city's surplus electricity. After Selma uncovers his secret, Shreck throws her through an office window. Surviving the fall, but with her head shattered, she awakens together the cat suit and adopts a strange identity. "Let's be a bitch," she says, "and so on." Crocman gives Batman a good looking by her wife and her husband. Shreck, meanwhile, makes a pact with the Penguin. Deformed at birth, with a leaky nose and twisted fingers, he was tossed into an icy creek by his horrified parents, then raised by penguins in an abandoned circus pen (beyond the Gotham Zoo). Now, he's returned in

the setting was so different to achieve contrast, he said. "It was an emotional choice. I just wanted a costume." Added Burton: "I feel closer to this movie. I like it better. But that doesn't make it a better movie."

DeWitt recalled with great relief that, after devoting two hours each morning to applying the Penguin makeup, he would assume in character all day, occasionally barking people on the set. Keaton revealed that the costume designer tried to build a support for the cat suit, but was told: "That's not costume, that's a chair," he conceded. "But from side angles, you'd see the zipper. And sometimes it would be half-open—or half-closed."

Meanwhile, Pfeiffer talked reverently about the "feline master" who transformed her. "I can't imagine Crocman without his whipping," she said. "There was a grace and beauty to the way he worked the whip." She was less enthusiastic about the cat suit. "It feels like a second skin," she explained. "But if you're hot it can be a pain, it becomes uncomfortable and a little painful—I got a skin rash once."

Pfeiffer and that she was surprised by the challenge of the role. "It was really difficult," she said. "I think I thought, 'I feel like I'm not Crocman, maybe he's the most disgusting part of my career.'" She was the role after a strange interview. Burton's first choice, another Keaton, had to drop out after becoming pregnant. Then, actress Renee Young, who claimed that she was born to play Crocman, stormed into studio headquarters wearing her own cat suit. Over Young's protests, Burton hired Pfeiffer. Comparing her with his *Batman* co-star Kim Basinger, Keaton said: "Michelle worked with her husband, Tim Burton."

But Pfeiffer's physical presence proved an unexpected bonus. "She seemed me," said Burton. "She was doing karate fights on carved roofs with four-inch heels." In fact, Pfeiffer had taken to her-brown even before she was cast. "I'm really strong," she said, "and I'm pretty athletic; when I was a kid, I was a gymnast."

After seeing the movie, Pfeiffer said, "I was more than I expected, and that was/laughs. I was blown away by the image and the script and the beauty." Keaton's reaction was more measured. "I wasn't ready for some of it," he said. "When you're a movie star like that, they're so huge you don't know what's at them." Keaton also wondered about if the movie is

a matter of each movie and then on as a sequel at least underlines. He also counts on a crop of excited peeping penguins—played by real penguins, animatronic puppets and real actors in penguin suits.

And from the sea of images, a three message. "Everyone forgets that we're still basically animals," said Burton. *Batman Returns* runs wild in *Batman Returns*. The movie's publicity posters show the Bat, the Cat and the Penguin stacked like faces on a film pole. And there was an air of sexuality in last week's interviews in Chicago, where the stars discussed the first points of sexual catastrophe.

DeWitt recalled with great relief that, after devoting two hours each morning to applying the Penguin makeup, he would assume in character all day, occasionally barking people on the set. Keaton revealed that the costume designer tried to build a support for the cat suit, but was told: "That's not costume, that's a chair," he conceded. "But from side angles, you'd see the zipper. And sometimes it would be half-open—or half-closed."

Meanwhile, Pfeiffer talked reverently about the "feline master" who transformed her. "I can't imagine Crocman without his whipping," she said. "There was a grace and beauty to the way he worked the whip." She was less enthusiastic about the cat suit. "It feels like a second skin," she explained. "But if you're hot it can be a pain, it becomes uncomfortable and a little painful—I got a skin rash once."

Pfeiffer and that she was surprised by the challenge of the role. "It was really difficult," she said. "I think I thought, 'I feel like I'm not Crocman, maybe he's the most disgusting part of my career.'" She was the role after a strange interview. Burton's first choice, another Keaton, had to drop out after becoming pregnant. Then, actress Renee Young, who claimed that she was born to play Crocman, stormed into studio headquarters wearing her own cat suit. Over Young's protests, Burton hired Pfeiffer. Comparing her with his *Batman* co-star Kim Basinger, Keaton said: "Michelle worked with her husband, Tim Burton."

But Pfeiffer's physical presence proved an unexpected bonus. "She seemed me," said Burton. "She was doing karate fights on carved roofs with four-inch heels." In fact, Pfeiffer had taken to her-brown even before she was cast. "I'm really strong," she said, "and I'm pretty athletic; when I was a kid, I was a gymnast."

After seeing the movie, Pfeiffer said, "I was more than I expected, and that was/laughs. I was blown away by the image and the script and the beauty." Keaton's reaction was more measured. "I wasn't ready for some of it," he said. "When you're a movie star like that, they're so huge you don't know what's at them." Keaton also wondered about if the movie is

as much of each movie and then on as a sequel at least underlines. He also counts on a crop of excited peeping penguins—played by real penguins, animatronic puppets and real actors in penguin suits.

And from the sea of images, a three message. "Everyone forgets that we're still basically animals," said Burton. *Batman Returns* runs wild in *Batman Returns*. The movie's publicity posters show the Bat, the Cat and the Penguin stacked like faces on a film pole. And there was an air of sexuality in last week's interviews in Chicago, where the stars discussed the first points of sexual catastrophe.

DeWitt recalled with great relief that, after devoting two hours each morning to applying the Penguin makeup, he would assume in character all day, occasionally barking people on the set. Keaton revealed that the costume designer tried to build a support for the cat suit, but was told: "That's not costume, that's a chair," he conceded. "But from side angles, you'd see the zipper. And sometimes it would be half-open—or half-closed."

Meanwhile, Pfeiffer talked reverently about the "feline master" who transformed her. "I can't imagine Crocman without his whipping," she said. "There was a grace and beauty to the way he worked the whip." She was less enthusiastic about the cat suit. "It feels like a second skin," she explained. "But if you're hot it can be a pain, it becomes uncomfortable and a little painful—I got a skin rash once."

BRIAN D. JOHNSON in Chicago

## Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

### FICITION

- 1 *City of Gold, Daphne*
- 2 *Java, Marlene (2)*
- 3 *Jewish, Shit (2)*
- 4 *Brightman, M. (1)*
- 5 *Worms, Cuckoo*
- 6 *There's a Girl in the House*
- 7 *Dark Side, Zola (2)*
- 8 *Seahorse, Cuckoo (1)*
- 9 *Seahorse, Cuckoo (1)*
- 10 *Seahorse, Cuckoo (1)*

### NON-FICITION

- 1 *The Silent Passage, Daphne (2)*
- 2 *Revolution, Marlene, Daphne (2)*
- 3 *Worms Without Bill, Bill*
- 4 *Worms, Cuckoo (2)*
- 5 *Worms, Cuckoo (2)*
- 6 *Worms, Cuckoo (2)*
- 7 *The Happy Day of Christmas, Thomas*
- 8 *The Culture of Christmas, Thomas*
- 9 *Worms, Cuckoo (2)*
- 10 *Worms, Cuckoo (2)*

(1) Previous list used

Compiled by Brian Johnson



# Playing politics with the numbers

BY STEWART MacLEOD

I was once an individual who said, "Statistics is the science of producing available facts from reliable figures." Perhaps wiser than the one who said, "Statistics prove you can prove anything by statistics," or even still than the one who said, "Statistics are like witnesses: you can get them to testify for either side."

That opening paragraph, one would think, gets us nicely into the subject of statistics. And what gives rise to this particular subject—apart from the fact it clearly involves use of the word constitution—is our assessment of how people of the political persuasion choose to use the damned thing. Statistics, that is.

One would think, after decades of foul experiences, politicians would let statistics lie in peace. But experience, politicians would have learned, gets us nicely into the subject of statistics. And what gives rise to this particular subject—apart from the fact it clearly involves use of the word constitution—is our assessment of how people of the political persuasion choose to use the damned thing. Statistics, that is.

In any event, there are far too many of them. It's been years since Ottawa suspended a statistics-free day and even longer since any politician was able to use them without anything into a negative connotation. You can't fool around with these things. Statistics, that is.

It's not necessary to go back years, or even months, to demonstrate how statistics have contributed as much to political devastation. A few weeks will do the trick. Still, as one seems to learn.

Now, take Defense Minister Marcel Masse, the aged crusader who abused statistics to bolster his case for having \$1 billion worth of helicopters built in Quebec, without results. Speaking authoritatively, he said that while Quebec has 32 per cent of Canada's population, it gets only 17 per cent of defence department spending. "What we have to do is... make sure we have a better percentage."

If there's one cardinal rule in politics, or should be, it's never to use spending statistics on a departmental basis. These statistics are

*One would think, after decades of foul experiences, politicians would let statistics lie in peace*

not only inherently misleading; they are aggravating enough to invite statistical counter-attacks. All else aside, defence spending by province doesn't add up to 100 per cent, since some of it goes abroad. So 17 per cent seems rather—except to break interest in what percentage of funds the defence department spends in Alberta, or how much of the agriculture department's budget goes to Newfoundland. Looka terribly under.

The problem didn't stop with mere ministers. While Mr. Masse was trying to convince colleagues Quebec was not getting its fair percentage, the Prime Minister himself was getting on his own statistical vanity show.

He was across the river in Hull, launching a spirited attack against Quebec sovereignty—and a splendid speech it was, except for a little glitch in timing. The day Brian Mulroney picked to tell Quebecers about the advantages of federalism was, by a curious coincidence, the week before Canada's official language commissioner brought down his annual report. So, while the Prime Minister was unleashing his rhetoric that "francophones make up about 29

per cent of the federal public service," language commissioner Victor Goldblum was telling us it was previously 22 per cent.

Not a grand gap, you say. But with statistics, there are no degrees. If they're not right, they're wrong.

It got worse. The PM was eager to say that "34 per cent of the deputy ministers and equivalent senior positions in the federal public service are held by francophones."

From the Goldblum report: "Although francophones make up over 25 per cent of Canada's population, they occupy only 22.4 per cent of the top management positions." The gap was widening.

About now, in normal circumstances and for the sake of political correctness, we'd like to offer a few samples of Liberal statistics-making. Okay for that, you see, Liberals aren't too sure about statistics, not for noble reasons but because of the party's unusual debt. Depending on whom you ask, that debt has been stuck in the \$2.5-to-\$4-billion range since, roughly, the invention of the incandescent light bulb.

So, moving right along to the New Democrats. It was the very day after Mr. Mulroney's statistics attack in Hull that our Leader Audrey McLaughlin rose in the Commons—to the rhetorical pleasure of her followers—to pose a question with "We learned today that unemployed insurance benefits now cost \$4 billion."

Now, it's bad enough to be wrong while bolstering your argument. But to be wrong while aiding the enemy is, well, just about the ultimate political inconvenience. One can only imagine the indignity of being corrected by the Prime Minister, whose it wasn't even in his government's best interests. But like a kindly professor he stood and said: "My friend... said, 'I think the unemployment insurance costs Canada have gone to \$4 billion.' That's wrong, they have gone to \$10 billion."

Which, incidentally, was not at higher levels. But Mr. Mulroney was never leaving him with broad-based statistics. "Mr. Speaker," she said, "in fact, unemployment and social assistance cost this country \$20 billion a year."

The kindly professor was at his best again. "I do not want to disseminate any misleading figures, but this is wrong again..." He went on to explain that "we transfer \$42.30 million in direct major transfers to persons and we transfer in cash and tax transfers to other levels of government for that purpose an extra \$28.9 billion, and we do it every day." And not a great deal for the NDP leader, particularly when one Toronto newspaper described her as acting "like the classroom aide who tries to bluff her way through an argument."

And all because of statistics. Worst of getting them right, all this had to say was "billions" and "billions," and her 40 co-workers wouldn't be reacting any of those fiscal levels.

But then, according to one book of quotations, Stephen Strassky once said that "statistics are the heart of democracy." Other wonder what country he came from.

Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service.

You've driven  
yourself hard  
all your life.

Now it's time to cruise.



rejected V-6 engine. And the convenience of air conditioning, tilt steering and cruise control plus power windows and door

locks. All enclosed in a stylish, classical frame. You'll also enjoy the comfort of the industry's first Owner's Choice Protection Plan: your choice of warranty coverage between 7 years/115,000 km as the powertrain, or 3 years/60,000 km bumper-to-bumper, depending on your driving needs! Chrysler Dynasty LE, surprisingly down-to-earth. You know there have been

most expensive automobiles. The comforting reassurance of a driver's side air bag. The power of our 3.3 litre sequential multi-point fuel-

injected V-6 engine. And the convenience of air conditioning, tilt steering and cruise control plus power windows and door locks. All enclosed in a stylish, classical frame. You'll also enjoy the comfort of the industry's first Owner's Choice Protection Plan: your choice of warranty coverage between 7 years/115,000 km as the powertrain, or 3 years/60,000 km bumper-to-bumper, depending on your driving needs! Chrysler Dynasty LE, surprisingly down-to-earth. You know there have been most expensive automobiles. The comforting reassurance of a driver's side air bag. The power of our 3.3 litre sequential multi-point fuel-



CHRYSLER  
All you  
have to do  
is drive  
one.

MSRP shown. All with 100,000 km/100,000 miles warranty. See your Chrysler dealer for details. Dealer price only. Tax, license, title, and other fees extra.



**Should we  
be the only ones  
using this word?**

Today, most rye whiskies are made from corn. But not Alberta Premium.

We're still old-fashioned enough to believe that a rye whisky ought to be made from rye grain.

Seems real simple to us.

**Alberta Premium.  
Rye that's actually  
made from rye.**